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ART. I. — THE BISHOPS' RESOLUTIONS
ON EDUCATION.

IT is somewhat strange that the coming crisis in the educational system of the country should have excited so little visible emotion amongst those chiefly interested in the matter, that the Duke of Devonshire should have complained of a want of public interest. It cannot be imagined that ratepayers are utterly indifferent to a matter which must greatly affect the rates, or that parents feel no interest in the welfare of their children ; the absence of a loud-voiced expression of the desire of the bulk of the nation is more truly to be assigned to its ignorance of the detail of the complicated system of machinery by which the work of the schools is carried on. The Act of 1870, with its many subsequent amendments, and the Code with its annually changing requirements, are far beyond the comprehension of the ordinary British voter. Naturally, therefore, he does not attempt to express his wishes in the language of the educational expert, which he does not understand ; or demand specific measures of which he is conscious that he does not see the effect.

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He does, however, speak loudly enough in his own way. He is quite clear that he wishes his children to be brought up as Christians, and to be trained in the religion which he himself professes, and no other. This is plainly shown by the fact that more than half the children in the country are still in denominational schools, in spite of the opposition and of the lavish attractions of the School Board.

Secondly, he complains, with great justice, that if his conscience compels him to secure religious instruction for his children by sending them to voluntary schools, he is, nevertheless, compelled to pay rates for the support of non-religious schools, in addition to subscribing to his own. There are many people, even now, who do not understand that while the entire expense of the Board, its schools, sites, buildings, maintenance, and administration comes out of the public purse, the voluntary schools receive only such grants from the Treasury as are admittedly insufficient for the maintenance alone of the schools. The sites, buildings, administration, and the balance needed for the maintenance have to be derived wholly from private sources.

No wonder, then, that the first claim of the Bishops is that money, whether derived from the taxes or the rates, shall be paid equitably for the maintenance of all schools alike which fulfil the educational conditions.

Surely this is no unreasonable demand. How generally the country recognises that religion is a most powerful factor in the moulding and amendment of character, is shown already by the denominational basis of the system laid down by Parliament for the Industrial and Reformatory Schools. That this system is one which, when properly applied, works peacefully and successfully, is manifested by H.M. Inspector in his last report, in which it appears that a very large proportion of a difficult class of children have turned out decent and respectable men and women, and useful members of society.

In the case of the prisons, too, regard is had to the prisoners' religious belief; and this plan is found by experience to be the only one fair in itself, and likely to be beneficial in its effect.

In the Army and Navy, as well as in Poor Law institutions, the system of recognising different religious beliefs has been freely adopted, as the only one that is equitable in a country like ours, where nothing like uniformity of creed is to be found.

In India and in our colonies there is the same toleration ; and by it alone can justice and peace be maintained amongst the peoples whose religions differ so widely.

Why, then, should the Elementary Schools be the only portion of our social system in which unfair advantages should be given to one phase of belief, or rather disbelief, to the disadvantage of all others? Why should the majority of the schools and scholars be penalised for the benefit of the minority, whose sole claim to such indulgence is the absence of definite Christianity?

Our next claim is that the various religious bodies who maintain the schools shall be represented on the Committee forming the local authority. We do not ask for a *large* representation with a view to control or out-vote the others, but simply that each denomination of the schools under its control may have one member who will know their wants, understand their condition, and be able to accurately inform the Committee.

This representation is perhaps more important for us Catholics than for any other denomination—partly because there are so many otherwise well-informed persons who think they know all about the Catholic Church, of which, in reality, they are abnormally ignorant ; and partly because we have, in fact, so many points of definite belief which are likely to be misunderstood by those who do not take the proper steps to inquire.

As an example of the first class I may mention a person whom I heard explaining to a party of Protestants that Catholics were at liberty on Fridays to eat either meat or fish, but not both ! The common and absurd idea that the Papal Infallibility means that the Pope is impeccable, is an example of the second.

But perhaps the most necessary and essential of all our claims is that we shall have the right to open new schools when the needs of our people require it. The reasonableness

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of this request seems evident on the face of it. If we are to be allowed schools at all, certainly they should be allowed in the places where they are wanted. For many years it was the custom of the Education Department to require the consent of the School Board before a Catholic school could be placed on the annual grant list ; and although, much to the credit of the London Board, I do not think there was an instance of its refusing its consent, yet this was by no means the practice of some School Boards in other places ; and some cases of the grossest injustice were the consequence.

The only adequate remedy for so glaring an evil as this is to be found in the incorporation in the coming Bill of the clause in the Scotch Education Act of 1872, Sec. 67, which recognises the need of such new schools, "regard being had to the religious belief of the parents."

Experience—an ounce of which is said to be worth a ton of theory—shows how pleasantly and peacefully it is possible for persons of such differing religious beliefs as Catholics and Presbyterians, to maintain and work their schools successfully in a quiet and neighbourly manner. Such scandals as the Dan-y-Craig case do not arise in Scotland ; not because the Scotch have less regard than Englishmen for that which they believe to be true, but because the Scotch Act is more just in its enactment than the English one ; and because it freely recognises that parents have a right before God and man to have their children taught definitely their own belief.

It is also needful that our Catholic schools should remain in the control of the Catholic managers ; although an *ex-officio* member from the local authority might be added to the Board.

The appointment and dismissal of teachers must be retained by the managers of the schools. This is essential for the religious character of the schools. It may happen from time to time that a teacher, though working well from a secular point of view, may be anything but edifying to the children under his care—whether it be from negligence in attention to his religious duties, or from a want of strictness in his apparent moral character. In such a case, for

the religious tone of the school, the managers must be competent to dismiss him.

But we might, perhaps, without difficulty allow the *ex-officio* manager a veto whenever either appointments or dismissals are proposed on educational grounds only.

Lastly, sad experience in the past teaches us to secure, as far as possible, an appeal from the local authority to the central one at Whitehall. In cases where the judges themselves may be interested, it is always well to have an appeal to a higher tribunal, which has at least the advantage of being disinterested and impartial.

Our case, then, in substance is easily intelligible; and it ought not to be difficult to show the Duke of Devonshire that we are interested in it.

No doubt the coming Bill will afford an unusual opportunity for the Government to do a great act of justice, and to right a great wrong. All that we ask is just and reasonable; and we do not ask it for ourselves only, but for all alike. Let those who find sites, build schools and furnish them, and teach the secular subjects so as to satisfy the educational requirements, receive for this secular work the same support and assistance as the other schools. We do not ask to be paid for the religious instruction, but only for that secular work which we give in common with all the other schools.

It is, of course, only too possible that the coming Bill may in some points fall short of giving all efficient schools equal rights and advantages. In that case, if our rights are distinctly advanced, and no hindrances put in the way of our obtaining complete justice in the future, it might still be well to support the Bill, since half a loaf is better than no bread.

But let us hope that, now that the Bishops have shown the way to justice, the authorities of other denominations will not allow any petty jealousies or other contemptible motives to hinder them from stating plainly what they want, or to urge them to make demands which are plainly impossible, and so to put an obstacle in the way of the Government's acting fairly by all.

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Fas est et ab hoste doceri. No one is disgraced by learning a lesson from those who differ from him. If other denominational authorities see justice in our Catholic claims, let them not hesitate to adopt them, even though they originated with others than themselves. They copy others without hesitation in many unimportant matters, why not copy us for once in what is most important?

The path our Bishops have traced out is evidently a safe one: why do others waste their time in trying to find another? What good ever comes of divided counsels in the presence of the enemy? Confusion and want of unity of action may, of course, cause a measure of justice to fail; but what good can it effect?

With regard to Secondary Education it is more difficult to speak. On this subject the Bishops have formulated but one claim, and that appears to be obviously a matter of justice: it is, that in the case of scholarships granted for secondary education, they should be tenable in every school in the district recognised as efficient.

This is but saying that if a Catholic boy gains a scholarship for secondary education, he shall not be compelled to attend any non-Catholic school should an efficient Catholic one in the district be willing to take him.

This is a privilege granted already by Act of Parliament in the case of all boys committed to Reformatories; and it would hardly seem just to require a boy to break the law in order to secure entrance to a Catholic school! In both cases the payment will be made out of public money, and it would seem hard to refuse to a hard-working and innocent boy the rights of conscience and religion which are already granted to an incipient criminal.

W. J. B. RICHARDS.

STATEMENT OF THE CATHOLIC CLAIM IN THE MATTER OF A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.

The Cardinal Archbishop and the Bishops of the Province of Westminster, in view of contemplated legislation

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on education next session, desire to place on record the principles which they think ought to guide themselves and their flock on the question of the control of elementary and secondary education by the County Councils.

I.—They take it for granted that the payment of public moneys, whether derived from the rates or the taxes, will be made equitably to the maintenance of all schools fulfilling the educational conditions, irrespective of creed.

II.—They consider it essential that there should be placed on the Education Committee of the County Council representatives of the great educational interests that have grown up with the Education Department.

For this purpose each of the school associations (if it have schools in the county) should nominate one representative to sit among the co-opted members of the Education Committee of the County Council: one and the same nominee, elected by the School Association, to represent the interests of both elementary and secondary denominational schools on such Education Committee.

The Bishops desire to point out that such limited representation upon the Education Committee is not sought in order to weaken, control, or out-vote the local authority of the County Council, but in order to secure to it, and to all concerned, several beneficial and most important results, that would be otherwise hardly attainable; such as:—

1. Placing of the County Council in continuous possession of full information respecting the educational needs and circumstances of the denominational schools.
2. The absolute removal from the outset of friction between the County Council Education Committees and the religious bodies having a principal stake in the education of the nation.
3. The insurance of the smooth working of the County educational machinery, by making the Committees include the interests of the voluntary schools as well as the interests attached to the Board school system.

This consideration is urgent. The Education Committee, being heir to the School Board, and paying for the sites, buildings, and administration of the Board schools, will be naturally drawn to prefer and favour what may be called *their own schools*, unless this inclination be somewhat adjusted by the presence on the Committee of persons chosen to represent the denominational schools. As these latter are the more numerous, and contain the larger number of scholars throughout the country, to exclude their representation altogether from the Education Committee would be not only impolitic, but unfair and intolerable.

The absence of such representation on the County Councils has already operated unfavourably in several cases where denominational schools have applied for a share in the money distributed in furtherance of technical education.

It must also be borne in mind that the Education Committee of the County Council will be the educational citadel of each county. If that citadel do not contain chosen representatives of the great Christian educational bodies, these bodies will be constrained from the first to take up an attitude of well-founded fear and suspicion. They will perceive that the lead of the Government, ignoring their claim even to a minimum of official representation on the Education Committees, may easily be improved upon to their serious and permanent disadvantage. They will understand how, in the absence of official representation, public opinion may by degrees be formed and strengthened in the County Councils against the interests of definite Christian education.

Thus, the refusal to admit any official representation of the religious or voluntary schools upon the Education Committees will inevitably lead to the introduction into the County Council elections of organised politico-religious animosities and contests, which will be followed by their natural consequences. Whereas, if the constitutional precedent be followed, which recognises the claim of religion to be represented in the Imperial Legislature, evidence will be given of a sincere desire to maintain that equilibrium of forces which

is essential to the peaceful and progressive development of a national system of education.

III.—The Bishops consider it essential to the natural growth of Christian schools throughout the country that the clause in the Scotch Education Act of 1872, Section 67, which recognises the increase of such schools, regard being had to the religious belief of the parents, should be introduced into the English Bill.

IV.—They hold that it is an essential condition to the existence of their schools that the managers shall retain in their hands the right of appointment and dismissal of teachers; while, at the same time, public bodies responsible for public money may naturally claim a representation on the school management for sanitary, financial, and scholastic purposes, in a proportion not exceeding one in three.

V.—In the case of scholarships granted for secondary education, they consider that these should be tenable in every school in the district recognised as efficient.

VI.—They desire that there shall always be an appeal from the educational authority of the County Council to the Board of Education at Whitehall.

Signed on behalf of the Bishops, &c.,

HERBERT CARDINAL VAUGHAN.

November 29th, 1901.

ART. II.—THE LAW AND THE ORDERS IN FRANCE.

Journal Officiel de la République Française. Session Ordinaire de 1901 (Paris, Quai Voltaire).

“IT is the duty and joy of the Republican Government to encourage all those who devote their time and intelligence to relieving the poor and raising the level of their fellow-citizens, and thus realise fraternity.” Such was the high-minded ideal of the democratic State proposed by President Loubet at a public dinner in Lyons a year ago last November. A piquancy was given to his words by the fact that they were uttered in the hearing of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, who, only a few days before, in a memorable speech at Toulouse, had set forth a political programme, the principal item of which was a measure for making life more and more difficult for the religious congregations—the only class in the country devoted as a class to the care of the poor and afflicted, and to the training of the young. Even the sober-tongued *Temps* denounced the speech as “one long and violent declaration of anti-clericalism,” “the first, and, indeed, the only article in the Radical programme,” which “the President of the Council had but made his own.” Yet that policy has been persevered in, and is so far from realising the ideal of M. Loubet that we are even now witnessing a fresh exodus of religious men and women from France, and a second landing upon our own shores of French refugees for conscience’ sake. M. Waldeck-Rousseau put forward his programme in the sacred names of liberty and the defence of the Republic, and its working is seen in the proscription and ostracism of men and women so innocent of politics that it is a question whether they knew the names of the Ministry before whose heavy hand they found themselves forced to flee. The wide

divergence between theory and practice here seen in the policy of the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet is no new thing in French Ministries ; it is merely the latest, and, perhaps, the worst illustration of Mr. Bodley's judgment that "the intolerant system under the third Republic differs from all persecutions known to history, in that it is not only practised in the name of Liberty, but it aims at laying official disability on an established religion." It is the object of this article, briefly, to describe the legislation which has struck the religious orders so heavily—its pretext, its history and its results.

In spite of the revolutions which France has made to achieve individual liberty, and even after thirty years of the existence of the Republican regime, the right of men to associate for the pursuit of a common object has remained under rigorous and vexatious restrictions. Whilst people were free to combine for the prosecution of material interests with a view to a division of profits, association for moral, political, scientific, and philanthropic purposes fell under the prohibition and severities of the Penal Code of 1810, which forbade the formation of any such association consisting of more than twenty persons. The unreasonableness of such a regime is evident. A mere figure was made the line of demarcation between what was allowed and what was forbidden. No matter how good the object, an association fell under the penalties of the law if its membership over-passed a score, whilst the most vicious and dangerous combination which numbered no more than nineteen went untouched. Thus the law might have to permit what the commonweal would forbid, and to forbid what it ought to have encouraged. Successive Governments had endeavoured to find a way out of the difficulty, but in vain. Everyone was cordially agreed that the effete and illiberal articles of the Code should be abolished, so that M. Waldeck-Rousseau had no converts to make when he declared that it was in "the legal organisation of associations that lay in germ the solution of the greatest social reform by the expansion of liberty."

Had a Bill been drafted on lines as large and liberal

as the Premier had indicated, his proposals would have been welcomed by men of all parties in the State as a serious attempt to solve a question clamorous for settlement. Unfortunately, however, the Ministry had task-masters behind them. M. Waldeck-Rousseau's Cabinet was a coalition of diverse and even opposite elements drawn together to wind up the Dreyfus case, and if possible to allay the conflicting passions which had arisen out of that unhappy incident, and were still distracting the country by the struggles and recriminations of contending parties. Thus the Government, which was maintained in office by the sectaries and the growing power of the Socialists, found itself under the necessity of paying the price demanded for that support, if not in full by going the length of Collectivism, at any rate in part by taking its stand on the common ground of a fresh campaign in the eternal warfare of the State against the Church. The Assumptionist Fathers had in their journals espoused the cause of the honour of the Army against those who assailed it from behind the Dreyfus case; endeavours had been made to implicate the Jesuits as the educators of numberless army officers; and so it was easy for the Government to take at its flood the tide of anti-clericalism which had set in. Accordingly, in foreshadowing at Toulouse his Bill for the enlargement of the right of association, M. Waldeck-Rousseau made it clear against whom restrictions of that right would be forged. The religious congregations were, he said, increasing so rapidly as to constitute a real peril to the State, covering the land with a close network of influence, by which, in school and chapel, principles were propagated totally at variance with the principles of the Revolution. Thus two bodies of youth were growing up in the country, ignorant of each other, and so unlike as to risk not being able to comprehend each other. Thus there arose two Frances, and the seeds of division were perpetuated. It was therefore necessary to stop the source of this division by restraining the development of this dangerous organism. The moral unity of the country must, at all costs, be restored.

One way to attempt this impossible task would have

been to close the schools and colleges kept and taught by the religious, but the brutality of such an attack on the principle of liberty of teaching would have been too glaring to be consistent with the safety of the Ministry. It was therefore necessary to go more cautiously to work. If the schools could not be summarily closed, they could at any rate be severely handicapped by the device so often put forward by the Masonic Conventions of declaring ineligible for positions in the public service, those scholars who had not qualified by spending the last three years of their school life in State institutions. It would also be possible to limit the number of religious schools, and even to close some of the most successful by attacking, not the schools, but the orders that kept them. It was determined, therefore, to compel the unauthorised congregations to obtain official recognition as a condition of their existence. With this view the Government drew up two Bills—one the School Stage Bill, enforcing on candidates for the civil service a term of three years in the lycées; the other a Bill on Association, to which, curiously enough, its authors attached importance because by imposing stringent conditions on the formation of religious congregations "it involved the solution of at least a portion of the education question."

The first of these measures was rejected by the Parliamentary Commission appointed to consider it; but the second, the Bill on Association, after being presented to the Chamber, on November 14th, 1899, was in June so favourably reported on that on November 14th, 1900, it was placed upon the order of the day as a matter of urgent importance.

Here, it will be well to consider the measure in its original form. The Bill dealt in seventeen articles or clauses, arranged under four heads, with associations generally; with those recognised as of public utility for a specific object; with associations which could not be formed without authorisation; and with the general rules affecting associations that might be dissolved. Under the first section (Articles 1 and 2), association was declared free, provided that its object was not illicit, contrary to law, public

order or morality, to national unity or the Republican form of government. Under the second, civil personality was to be accorded to associations recognised as of public utility (Article 9), and power to possess the amount of property necessary for the carrying out of the object of the association (Article 10). The third section forbade the formation of any association between Frenchmen and foreigners unless previously authorised by a Decree of the Council of State, whilst associations between Frenchmen, the headquarters or direction of which was abroad or in the hands of foreigners, or the members of which lived in community must gain their authorisation by a Law determining the condition of their working (Article 11). Any such association formed without authorisation was declared by Article 12 illicit, and its members liable to fines varying from 500 to 5,000 francs in addition to a term of imprisonment varying from six days to a year, as set forth in Article 7, founders and administrators incurring double these penalties. By the fourth section provisions were made for getting rid of the intermediary proprietors in whose name the property of many such associations was held (Article 13). Six months were allowed to unauthorised associations for putting themselves in conformity with the Law, dissolution following at the end of that time on contumacy. So much of the money of these dissolved associations as had previously belonged to individual members, or as has had since come to them by inheritance, was to be restored to them; that accruing to the associations by deed of gift might be reclaimed by the donors, their heirs or executors, within a year of the dissolution, failing which such money or property, together with any surplus remaining after all legal claims had been satisfied, was to go to form a pension fund for working men (Article 14).

These were the main provisions of the Bill when presented for the consideration of the Chamber after it had been revised and approved by the Parliamentary Commission, of which M. Trouillot was the Reporter. The first of the changes made by the Commission was in Article 2, in which M. Waldeck-Rousseau had declared

that no association could be formed which involved "the renunciation of rights which were inalienable" (*qui ne sont pas dans le commerce*). This somewhat cryptic expression was explained in a passage in the preamble, in which it was laid down that the law of France, like that of other States, forbade anything that amounted to an abdication of such natural rights as the right to marry, to buy and sell, to engage in business, to possess property. Engagements such as these involved a personal servitude which was necessarily prohibited. The words drawn from an entirely different context of the Penal Code were, of course, here aimed at the vows taken by religious. It was quickly recognised, however, that M. Waldeck-Rousseau, with all his astuteness, had overshot the mark. The argument seemed plausible enough on the surface, but it covered too much ground to be made into law. It declared illicit the whole basis of the religious life, and by so doing included all who took such vows, besides placing the Government—which authorises some congregations and offers to recognise others, and which pays stipends to the secular clergy—in the absurd position of supporting what they had declared to be contrary to public order and to the natural law. The Parliamentary Commission therefore struck out the phrase, substituting for it a declaration of nullity against any association which was opposed to national unity and the Republican form of Government.

Another change made by the Commission was in the direction of greater rigour. M. Waldeck-Rousseau had originally proposed that associations between Frenchmen and foreigners which were governed by foreigners, or from abroad, or the members of which lived in community, must be authorised by a Decree; but the Commission, in view of the manner in which it was said the religious orders had abused their position, in view too of their rapid increase in number and influence and of their alleged audacious political action, deemed it expedient that their authorisation should be made dependent upon the formal approval of Parliament rather than on the initiative of Ministers. A third change was connected with the

destination of the property of associations dissolved under the Law. The first draft of the Bill, going on the assumption that the property of an illegal or dissolved congregation was without an owner, simply handed it over to the State. The Commission, anxious lest people should be scandalised at money given for charitable purposes going to fill up a deficit in the Budget, earmarked the proceeds of dissolution for a pension fund for workmen.

It will have been noticed that in the Bill as thus presented for the consideration of the Chamber, there was no mention of the religious congregations by name. The omission had been made of set purpose, and M. Waldeck-Rousseau prided himself on having been able to manage it, triumphantly asking his opponents how his Bill could be denounced as a measure of exception against the orders when it included no mention of them. The idea, of course, was to save appearances by including them in a general formula of common law, but the evasion was laid bare from the outset. M. Trouillot in his Report stated that Article 11 was aimed at the religious orders; and M. René Viviani, the eloquent Socialist, at the very opening of the general discussion in the Chamber, asked with fine scorn what was gained by so much periphrasis when the word "congregation" was already found in their legal and political language.

However, the Government and their supporters stuck to their guns. Though the phrase about the rights which are inalienable had been removed from the Bill, and though it was proved to demonstration by speaker after speaker that the State had no power to judge the vows freely made by the individual soul to God, the argument that such vows were illicit and illegal was persisted in. M. Waldeck-Rousseau developed it at some length in his first speech, and it even found a long echo in the Report presented to the Senate by M. Vallé.

The second argument upon which the Government relied in pressing their Bill upon the Deputies was that in meting out a different treatment to the congregations, they were but, as M. Viviani expressed it, "the continuators of their national history" and of their national

traditions. Never, declared M. Waldeck-Rousseau, had the formation of religious congregations been allowed at any time or under any regime without previous authorisation from the chief authority, and he even, unfortunately for himself, carried his appeal to history, to the practice of Charlemagne and of St. Louis. This contention, repeated time after time by his supporters, had been exposed by the veteran advocate, M. Edmond Rousse, before the debate was opened in the Chamber, and was eloquently met by M. Jacques Piou, the Comte de Mun, M. Ribot and M. de Lamarzelle. It was shown that the argument was either a mere quibble or based on an erroneous reading of history. In the early middle ages all associations in France were formed freely except in cases where the king founded or conferred privileges upon a monastery or convent, when he naturally placed conditions upon its inmates. From the fifteenth century to 1789, when the Church was fully established as an institution of the State, or rather as a co-partner with the State in the government of the country, the king was at once the protector of its teaching, the defender of its privileges and the executor of its laws. The vows of monk and nun were under the protection and sanction of the law of the land. Regarded not only as an engagement between the soul and God, but as a contract between subject and superior, the State held both parties to their bargain. Did a monk attempt to leave his cloister, the secular arm brought him back; did he seek release from his vows it was to the State he appealed to judge of their validity.

This old regime was abolished in 1790, when the Constituent Assembly declared that religious vows would be recognised no longer. Religious were therefore free to leave their convents, whilst those who did not wish to avail themselves of the freedom thus offered were told that they would be allowed to retire to houses which would be specified. Thus the vow was to be no longer a bond in law; it was in future to be binding in conscience only. With this Law of February, 1790, there came in a new era and a new regime for the congregations in France. Since

that time the State has no official knowledge of religious vows, of monks or nuns. To the State, the religious is a mere citizen, with all a citizen's rights and duties. He is an elector and eligible for election; he may carry his habit into the Chamber of Deputies as did Père Lacordaire; the law will marry him, and compels him to enter the ranks of the army.

Since 1790, it is true, laws have been passed against the congregations, but not one has attempted to abrogate in its essence the law of liberty then promulgated. A brutal Act of 1792 declared the abolition of religious corporations, but neither that nor even the Decrees of 1880—which invited the congregations to ask for an authorisation they were warned would be denied—has sought to deprive the religious of his quality of citizen, or to decree the civil incapacity of the individual in order to extend it to the community. If then, an individual religious has these rights, why, it was asked, why not the twenty or thirty or the hundred others who, with him, do as he does? If it be because they live together, then is there a violation of the elementary liberty of hearth and home. Thus it is clear that vows are not against the law but outside it, and can supply no reason for dealing out exceptional treatment to the religious who take and practise them. M. de Lamarzelle made a further point in the Senate by showing that those who in recent times had attacked the congregations had done so, not on account of their vows or the influence they exerted, but because the State, by its authorisation of them or its slackness in pursuing them on account of their usefulness to the country, practically declared them worthy of, and placed them under a regime of favour and privilege, at a time when other associations were not tolerated. Even Gambetta concluded a violent tirade against the orders with these significant words:

“If this evil were involved in the exercise of common right, if it were true that liberty of association was allowed by the legislature and given equally to all, so that each could enter on the struggle with an equal share of shade and sun, I would not rise up against the development and multiplication of the orders, though unauthorised

or even prohibited by the law. . . . But there is no such liberty. Whilst some have no right of association, and scarcely even of assembly, others have all the privileges."

M. Thiers again, did not see how, if the right of association was granted, the religious orders were to be excluded. Turning to the Left during a speech in the Chamber, he had cried out: "When you make a law on association, I should like to know how you will go to work to exclude the members of the congregations from such liberty." The Government of M. Waldeck-Rousseau and its Radical and Socialist masters have given the answer in acts, and these acts M. de Lamarzelle accurately translated into words when he said: "Now we know—by turning their backs on the principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and invoking those of the ancient regime."

The third argument upon which M. Waldeck-Rousseau and his supporters relied in their campaign against the religious, was that there was danger for the country in the enormous wealth which the orders were amassing. It was an appeal to the gallery of Lacklands and Anti-Clericals, and was launched at the very opening of the struggle in the speech at Toulouse. "In pointing to the peril of increasing mortmain, threatening the principle of the free circulation of property," said M. Waldeck-Rousseau, "it is sufficient to say that we are influenced by no vain alarms, that the value of the real property occupied or owned by the communities was in 1880 as much as 700,000,000 francs, and that it now exceeds a milliard. Starting from this figure, what may be the value of property in mortmain?" In the Chamber he made the appeal to the Socialist still more pointed: "What," he asked, "would this figure have produced if distributed amongst tens of thousands of hard-working Frenchmen?" Like the old Parliamentary hand that he is, the President of the Council knows the value of a good catchword, and he found it in the milliard of the congregations. The device is an old one, and is familiar to us here in England as part of the stock in trade of reformers like Henry VIII. and Thomas Cromwell.

At Toulouse M. Waldeck-Rousseau left his hearers to

fill in the possible figures of the wealth of the congregations according to their own imaginations, but to the Chamber he had to give some show of justification of his statement. For it was well known that the property which he had set down at 700,000,000 francs in 1880, had in 1890 been estimated by the revenue authorities at no more than 560,000,000 francs, and that this figure had been still further reduced in 1895 by a fresh investigation made for the purposes of the *taxe d'abonnement* to 493,216,820 francs. Except on very strong authority it would have been hopeless to ask the Deputies to believe that the property of the congregations had more than doubled itself in five years. He had, therefore, set the registration authorities to work on a fresh survey of the property in the hands of the religious. Nor was his reliance on their loyalty and ingenuity misplaced. A portentous volume of a thousand pages was rapidly compiled, which set down the property in the possession or occupation of the religious at no fewer than 48,701 hectares of land valued at 1,060,530,630 francs. There was his milliard and more, but—on paper. For the return carried its own condemnation on its face. It was drawn up in such a manner as to afford no chance of its figures being checked, and the circular issued by M. Payelle, Director-General of Taxation, to his subordinates made it evident that this was not by accident. The men were told that whilst the returns were to be made as accurately as possible, they were mere statistics, and “not intended to serve as the bases of taxation.” A free hand was thus given to the investigators, for they knew that their figures would not have to pass the scrutiny of the law courts. Yet with the best will in the world they could find no more than 20,900 hectares valued at 435,424,912 francs in the *direct* possession of the congregations. This fell ridiculously short of the promised milliard, and so, not to belie the Premier’s word, the religious were credited with over 125 millions worth of property “possessed indirectly,” 214 millions worth in occupation, and 284 millions more, “the judicial position of which is still to be determined,” but (it was stated) “incontestably under the hand and in the use of the congregations.” Convenient

as was this assumption that property occupied by the religious must be their own, and that property the ownership of which is not clear must belong to them, it was too large to be accepted. But the process of inflation did not stop here. Not only were the religious credited with what was not theirs, but that which was theirs had a fictitious value placed upon it, in many cases three or four times what the property was really worth.

But there is another point which should not be forgotten. Of the 435 millions of mortmain property indisputably belonging to the religious, more than 383 millions are in the hands of the authorised congregations, so that if mortmain property is a peril to the State, it is a peril of the State's own making. And it is a peril, too, which is increasing, not so much, indeed, at the hands of monks and nuns as in those of the Communes and various societies. The Communes hold in mortmain no fewer than 4,510,000 hectares, whilst only three years ago friendly societies were empowered to invest three fourths of their capital in real property. Léon Say gauged the situation with prophetic accuracy, when in 1890 he foretold that clerical mortmain would soon become a small matter compared with lay and social mortmain. Yet the prosperity of the country is not menaced, and for the simple reason that the old dangers arising from mortmain property have been diminished by the modifications wrought in the political, economic, and social situation. Mortmain, as M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, a political economist of international repute, has pointed out, was dangerous under the ancient monarchy because it was for the most part rural and in the enjoyment of fiscal privileges. Now, however, it is chiefly urban, deprived of its former social prestige, and lost among the fifty milliards at which the buildings of the country are assessed. Clerical mortmain, far from escaping the revenue authorities, is now weighted with numerous imposts, some of which are special and of recent imposition. M. Ribot extended this argument in the Chamber by showing that clerical mortmain did not formerly, as now, consist of hospitals, schools, and homes for the poor, which, as the Comte de Mun had said, cost a great deal,

but brought no return. It was, therefore, idle, concluded M. Ribot, to contend that such property constituted a war-chest ; it was, if anything, a guarantee for the neutrality and good behaviour of its owners.

Thus, in spite of the reiteration of the Premier's cry by various speakers, the foundations on which he had raised his imposing show of a milliard for distribution were undermined, and so effectually that M. Vallé, the Reporter of the Senatorial Committee practically abandoned it as a serious argument.

The last and perhaps the chief reason brought forward on behalf of the Bill—the one too upon which, though least supported by the definite evidence of facts, most reliance was placed—was its necessity as a measure of Republican defence against the encroachments and evil influence of the religious orders. The disloyal functionaries, of whom, when brought to task before the Education Commission by M. Piou, M. Waldeck-Rousseau had to confess that he could give no instance ; the two bodies of youth, ignorant of and opposed to each other, the two Frances ; none of these he said, at Toulouse, could be explained by “the free play of opinion, but only by the existence of an influence which is no longer even occult, and by the constitution in the State of a rival power. The situation is intolerable.” In the Chamber, where more detail was needed, he said that the object of the orders was “to reform society, to get into their hands the government of men's minds and consciences, to form the new generations, to occupy and have the distribution of place and power,” and all for the sake of the counter-Revolution. “They teach in the schools because it is necessary to have the training of men's minds ; they engage in commerce, not through love of money, but to gain the means for their great enterprise ; and they settle in every place where to-morrow the dominant party may work.” Universal suffrage must be captured, and so a new congregation had been formed with an agency or an agent in every commune to manage the elections. In the words of the Comte de Mun, the Revolution was a doctrine which pretended to base society on the will of man alone ; the counter-Revolution

was the contrary of this, and would place society on the basis of the gospel.

This thesis of the President of the Council lost nothing in the hands of his supporters. M. Zévaès, a Socialist, thus summed up the situation : " We have over against us strong congregations, immensely rich, the masters of elementary, secondary, and higher education, of the highest grades of the Army and Navy, of the highest posts in the Army and Civil Service, masters too of the bureaux de bienfaisance and the refuges, and even of the workshops." To this general indictment M. Trouillot, the Reporter of the Committee of the Chamber, and M. Vallé, the Reporter of the Committee of the Senate, added the testimony of statistics. M. Vallé told the Senators how the religious now numbered about 200,000, of whom about 35,000 were men. Whilst no fewer than 3,247 houses of women were recognised, 13,428 had neglected to seek authorisation, and "so great is the advantage of living outside the law that whilst in 1877 there were 113,750 religious women authorised and only 14,000 unauthorised, by 1900 the proportion had so altered that only 54,409 were authorised, whereas the number of the unauthorised had risen to 75,000." In elementary and secondary schools the religious had under their charge no fewer than 1,650,672 scholars, to which figure M. Trouillot added the fact that the secondary schools in religious hands, which in 1876 numbered 96, fell in 1887 to 43, but had since risen to 143, whilst no more than 38 of the 87 diocesan seminaries were taught by the secular clergy. The preponderance of the religious in another sphere was illustrated by the fact that Paris, besides its 70 parish churches, had now no fewer than 511 churches and chapels served by religious. Next came an enumeration of papers issued and edited by religious, most of which, the *Croix* and one or two others excepted, seem to be something after the style of our *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, and none of which cover the ground or could exert the influence of a great journal. From all this M. Vallé drew his conclusion as follows :—

"If it now be considered that this huge power is in

the hands of men bent under the yoke of an inflexible discipline, with a hierarchical and quasi-military organisation; that the congregations of all countries are grouped under the absolute authority of a chief who is, as they say, a general, and a foreigner at that, one understands how it is that the civil power takes up an attitude of opposition and demands that the religious should submit to the law."

M. Trouillot quoted long extracts from a manual of theology to show that the religious taught all the abominations fathered upon them by the Protestant Alliance, and even a serious statesman like M. Léon Bourgeois read passages from the exercise books written by juveniles in schools kept by religious, from which he solemnly drew the conclusion that the lads when they grew up would go out into the streets and begin a civil war with the other body of youth brought up in the light of the principles of the Revolution.

To all this sonorous declamation, to all these vague charges, the Opposition were able to make a triumphant reply. The Comte de Mun reminded M. Waldeck-Rousseau of his inability to mention a single fact which would serve as a basis for his conviction that the pupils of the religious made disloyal servants of the State. What were the uses to which the religious put their means and their establishments? They taught the young, nursed the sick, and harboured the harbourless.

In the Department of the Seine alone 23,296 persons were cared for in religious institutions. In the provinces religious men and women looked after the wants of 48,000 orphan girls and 14,550 orphan boys, whilst one congregation, single-handed—the Little Sisters of the Poor—made themselves responsible for the welfare of 16,000 old people. At least 108,000 persons were housed by the religious. Abroad, the work of the congregations, their loyalty to France, and their propagation of French influence was a subject of unqualified praise in the mouths of all French administrators and ambassadors, none of whom, whether it was M. Constans at Constantinople, or M. Paul Bert at Tonkin, pursued any other policy than that of protecting, encouraging and actively aiding their

endeavours. What a farce it was that the same Ministry which, by the tongue of M. Delcassé, pleaded for a larger grant in aid for the religious abroad, should by the voice of its chief, M. Waldeck-Rousseau, call upon Parliament to proscribe them at home and confiscate their goods.

We have now seen what the Bill was when first presented to the Chamber, a Bill which, under the cover of a general formula of liberty, aimed at restricting the growth and work of the religious orders. We have now briefly to chronicle its fortunes in the Chamber and the Senate, and to note the changes it underwent therein.

The general discussion in the Chamber opened on January 15th, and the Bill became law on June 28th amid the cheers of the Left, in a House of 530, by 305 votes against 224. There were scenes, of course, during the debates, but generally speaking it may be said that the discussions were marked by less violence and passion than might have been expected. Nor had the Government any reason to complain of the loyal obedience of their majority. After the great battles of the general discussion, in which M. Waldeck-Rousseau, M. Trouillot and M. Viviani on the one side, and on the other M. Jacques Piou, the Comte de Mun, M. Ribot, M. Prache and the Abbés Lemire and Gayraud were the protagonists, came the discussion of the measure clause by clause. It was soon found that Article 11 could not stand. M. Viviani had denounced it as a roundabout way of evading the utterance of a word as well-known to the constitutional lawyer as to the man in the street, and its effort to strike at the congregations as associations between Frenchmen and foreigners with their seat or directorate abroad or in the hands of foreigners, was found to include the International Socialists. It was not to be expected that these men would help in the forging of a weapon for their own destruction, and M. Groussier told the Government in so many words:—"You shall not, under the pretext of fighting the congregations, fight us at the same time." Accordingly, and in spite of M. Waldeck-Rousseau's previous assurances that not only good order but even national security were involved in the matter, the thing was

dropped. Then it was pointed out by the Abbé Lemire that the paragraph disallowing associations the members of which lived in common struck at the communities of young unmarried workmen in Belgium, whose example of living together for the sake of economy and mutual benefit was being copied in France. The *Temps* put in a timely word, indignantly asking if the rights of citizens to follow their tastes and suit their own convenience in such matters were to be invaded. So this paragraph also, the offspring of M. Trouillot's ingenuity, had to go.

The attempt to ambush the congregations from behind a common formula which would catch no others had thus failed ignominiously. Slimness had therefore to be abandoned. M. Waldeck-Rousseau had insisted upon the importance he attached to his Bill being a general one as opposed to one of exception for the religious orders. His sincerity had been put to the test, and had broken down under the ordeal. With his last entrenchment carried, reticence had to be flung to the winds. On Monday, March 18th, Article 11 was replaced by a new text which, having been prepared by the Commission, had been accepted by the Government, and appears in the Law as Article 13. It runs as follows:—

Article 13.—No religious congregation can be formed without an authorisation given by a Law which shall determine the conditions of its working.

It shall only be able to found a new establishment by virtue of a Decree issued by the Council of State.

The dissolution of the congregation or the closing of any religious establishment may be pronounced by a Decree issued by the Council of Ministers.

Herein the congregations were mentioned by name, and the Article became the crucial clause of the Bill, which, it was now plain, M. Waldeck-Rousseau had never any intention of making a general law of liberty. On the face of it, the new draft of the Article seemed to spell ruin to the congregations. Not only did it make the way to authorisation as arduous as possible, but it opened a way by which that authorisation might make it impossible for the congregation to carry on its work. If the concluding words

of paragraph 1 did not cover such an intention they were meaningless. M. Gailhard-Bancel accordingly proposed their omission, but failed to carry the House with him.

The Chamber then proceeded to discuss another new clause, which was, besides entirely foreign to the main purpose of the Bill, a clause introduced at the eleventh hour on the initiative of M. Rabier. In the Law as passed it appears as follows :

Article 14.—No one is permitted to direct, either personally or through the medium of another, an educational establishment of any sort, or to teach therein, if he belong to an unauthorised religious congregation.

Those who contravene this order shall be punished with the penalties laid down in Article 8, paragraph 2. The closing of the said establishment may, moreover, be decreed by the sentence of condemnation.

It is, indeed, hard to see why a Bill on association should have been weighted with a provision trenching upon the very different matter of liberty of teaching, but the reason is to be found in what, after all, was the central object of the Government in introducing the Bill at all. From the first, as M. Waldeck-Rousseau's declaration at Toulouse abundantly testifies, the Government had intended that their Bill on association should carry with it "a solution of at least a part of the education question" by doing away with some of the orders engaged in teaching. The other part was to have been solved by the School Stage Bill, which had had to be shelved. It had long been the openly-avowed aim of the Radical and Masonic groups of the Left to suppress liberty of teaching, and it now seemed as if what appeared to be so promising an opportunity of pressing forward its realisation was being lost. The situation was a curious one. Thrice had the Chamber declared its unwillingness to touch the right of liberty of teaching. A former proposal of M. Rabier's to re-establish the old monopoly of the University had been rejected ; a similar fate had befallen a motion akin to the new Article 14 brought forward by M. Levraud ; and

lastly, when the Radicals endeavoured to remove the School Stage Bill from the competence of the Education Commission, the Chamber refused to regard it as merely dealing with "the recruiting of functionaries. By their disallowance of the Radical appeal, the Deputies declared that it was essentially a proposal touching an educational right which was to remain inviolable. But the Radicals returned to the charge. M. Rabier proposed the Article given above, and M. Waldeck-Rousseau meekly accepted it, if he did not actually welcome it.

The Head of the Government assured the Chamber that the proposal in no way entrenched on any existing educational legislation. This contention was promptly met and overwhelmed not only by men like M. de Mun, but also by such veteran Liberals, and so little suspected of clerical tendencies, as M. Ribot, President of the Education Commission ; M. Aynard, a member of that Commission, and Reporter on the School Stage Bill ; and, in the Senate, M. de Marcère. Replying to the President of the Council, M. Ribot denounced the Article as foreign to the main object of the Bill, and as having been introduced in a surreptitious fashion. It had been argued that an unauthorised congregation, having no legal existence, had no right to teach. But the question now at stake was the right of the individual to teach—whether, after a congregation had been dissolved, an individual who had been a member of it should be pursued for the exercise of what had always been considered a personal right. The Commission by a large majority, in agreement with men least suspected of hankering after reaction, had decided that liberty of teaching must be maintained, and were, moreover, of opinion that forcibly to shut up in the same school the two Frances of whom Waldeck-Rousseau had made so much, would be at the risk of civil war. Had the past no lesson for the Government? The only result of the conflict of 1880 had been a trouble which Ministers seemed now bent on renewing. The idea of the Article was old and stale, and aimed at separating the congregations from the Church, though these were one. If persevered in, it would probably prove the saying of Henry IV. that a prosecution

of the teaching of the Jesuits would have to be followed up by a prosecution of the teaching of the Church herself.

M. Aynard's protest carried with it the weight attaching to a Vice-President of the Chamber, a son of the University, and as he phrased it of *un pauvre Liberal*. M. Rabier had acknowledged before the Education Commission that his Bill for the re-establishment of the monopoly of the University had, as its ultimate aim, the suppression of liberty of teaching. The Article now introduced at his suggestion, if it did not go to such a length, did actually make it impossible to avail oneself of that liberty in secondary education—because that was the only grade in which free competition with the State was in anyway developed. No congregation of men had been authorised with a view to secondary teaching, and the Article was an attempt to place the members of the congregations engaged in colleges on a level with the scoundrels whom, on account of their offences against uprightness and morality, the law rightly declared ineligible for such responsibility. Little by little, much of what had been conceded to religious liberty by the *Loi Falloux* had been revoked, and the last remnants were now being threatened at the very time when its destroyers had captured the largest licence for themselves. The real aim was to effect a unity in the nation which was at once obligatory and Jacobin, a unity founded on the supremacy of lay ideas. This point was pushed still further by the Comte de Mun, who declared that it was not loyalty of conduct, but servitude of the mind that was the ultimate object of those in power.

Equally severe was the language employed in the Senate by that veteran Liberal, M. de Marcère. He described the Bill as a declaration of war not only against the foundations of the social order of France, but on what was nearest the heart of every Frenchman, its worship and religion. In a democratic State supremacy belonged to the majority, and therefore in France to Catholics, who, however, did not even enjoy that tolerance which should ever accompany the free play of opinion. The policy of the Government was impolitic and, therefore, bound to fail. This was a

re-echo of what M. Aynard had, in gentler terms, told the Ministry in the Lower House :—

“A man of politic and prudent mind ought to take account of the traditions of his country. . . . Your duty is thus to govern this old country, which is of Catholic mould and making, which has the traditions you wot of, and in which by the side of 120,000 Protestants and 70,000 Jews, all the rest are Catholic. Not that I am simple enough to think that there are 37,000,000 practising Catholics ; but you have against you the women who are this country's crown ; you have millions of convinced believers, and of those other good Frenchmen for whom sentiment has the force of belief.”

M. de Lamarzelle emphasised in the Senate the point made against the Bill by M. Ribot that it would bear upon the individual after the suppression of the congregation had been accomplished. The religious who had been once punished for having belonged to an unauthorised congregation should not, on the elementary principle of justice, *non bis in idem*, be afterwards prevented from exercising his personal right to teach. If he was to be deprived of the right to teach, he ought also to be deprived of all other personal rights. In answer to these arguments M. Waldeck-Rousseau urged that it was not enough to strike down the congregation, because it was not *en masse*, as a corporation, that the congregation would teach, but by representatives, men imbued with its mind, in all places put at its disposal. This could only mean that these men were struck at, not on account of an association which no longer existed, but because of the things they taught to the children of the families whose ideas differed from those of the men in power.

But argument was wasted on those who, as servants of the Ministry, were *perinde ac cadaver*. After a three days' debate the article was voted, and, later on, was accepted by the Senatorial Commission as “absolutely useful” and as constituting a sanction to the Law. The discussion in the Senate opened on June 11th with a dignified and weighty protest from M. Wallon, the Father of the House. Urgency was decreed, and under the crack of the Government whip the House abandoned its customary leisurely

methods for those of the Fathers of the City who, in the days when Horatius kept the bridge, "sat all night and day." On Saturday, June 22nd, the sitting opened at 9.0 in the morning, and at 7.30 in the evening it was agreed to sit through the hours of the night until the Bill should be passed. The House accordingly reassembled at 9.30, and at one o'clock on Sunday morning, after three sittings occupying sixteen hours, the Bill was adopted as a whole by a majority of 173 against 99, and sent back to the Deputies scarcely altered.

But two changes were made affecting the religious congregations. The delay of six months allowed by the Chamber to unrecognised congregations for sending in applications for authorisation was reduced to three. The second change was in the direction of mildness. On the motion of M. Guérin, an ex-Minister of Justice, Article 18, regulating the spoliation of the orders and the disposal of their property, was so modified that an allocation was allowed to those members who had no sure and regular means of existence, and who could prove that they had, by their labour, contributed towards the acquisition of the common property of their congregation.

So much for the history of the Law. We are now in a position to appreciate its exceptional bearing on the congregations. Whilst no legal formality is necessary for the formation of simple associations, and only a preliminary declaration to the local prefects for those which desire a civil status, the religious are required to send in an application accompanied by a portentous *dossier* including full lists of membership with all sorts of details as to age, nationality, entrance into religion, the amount and kinds of property possessed by the community, &c. The Government is then to judge whether it will support the demand by a Bill which may or may not pass the Chambers. Thus a Law is necessary to confer authorisation on the congregation, and for each new house a Decree must be obtained from the Council of State, either or both of which may be revoked by a Ministerial order. But even after all preliminary difficulties have been overcome the religious are not by any means in the same state of free-

dom as that guaranteed under Sections I. and II. of the Law to ordinary associations. As the main object of the Law was to banish the religious from the school, it is to be feared that the prohibition against members of unauthorised congregations teaching or directing schools may, by a side wind, be extended to congregations that have been authorised. Article 13 provides that the Law conferring legal recognition shall also determine the conditions under which the congregation shall be conducted. Here is an open door for any restrictions that hostile ingenuity may be at the trouble of devising. Year by year, too, balance sheets of income and expenditure, inventories of property and lists of members will have to be presented, a mistake in which will render the religious liable to fines or imprisonment as for falsified returns. Individual members are attainted in their essential rights: their purchases are suspect, and they are declared incompetent to receive any legacy unless they are in the direct line of descent from the testator. It is thus evident that authorisation gained at the expense of so much formality confers at the best but a sorry sort of existence which is of so precarious a nature that it may be ended any day by a stroke of the pen of a hostile Minister.

As if such a position were not bad enough, means were found to aggravate its difficulty. The promulgation of the Law was accompanied by a Ministerial Circular signed by M. Waldeck-Rousseau as Minister of Public Worship, giving instructions concerning the documents which should be supplied along with the petition for authorisation. By Articles 3 and 4 of this Circular the congregation was required to furnish an engagement on its own part and from each of its members to submit to the jurisdiction of the bishops of the dioceses in which it might have settlements, together with formal approvals of their statutes from the same bishops. No hint was given as to the extent of the jurisdiction to which the religious were to submit, or which bishops would be called upon to exercise, and so suspicion was aroused by the very breadth of the terms of the articles. Many of the congregations therefore determined to play a waiting game until the

regulations for the carrying out of the Act provided for by Article 20 should be issued. It was an anxious time, and the religious were divided between hope and fear. There was a possibility that the burden laid upon them by the Law might be made less heavy, or, at least, that it might be rendered less galling, but hope was almost overwhelmed in the fear that the regulations would bring with them an increase of difficulties. And this fear was justified by the result. An official note in the *Matin* prepared the anxious religious for what was to come. After announcing that even further stress would be placed upon the promise of submission to the Ordinaries, the *Matin* smugly commented as follows :

"Thus the regulation, without touching the spirit or letter of the Law voted by Parliament, is of considerable importance, for it will in reality secularise all the religious of France. It constrains regulars like the Jesuits, Dominicans, Barnabites, &c. to fall under the hierarchy and to depend no longer only on the Pope but also on the bishop of the diocese. They will now have to refer to the bishop instead of simply to a superior who is generally a foreigner. The bishop is thus made the real master of everything in his diocese, as well as responsible for all that goes on in it."

The latter part of this statement was in plain contradiction to the first, for it pointed to a very serious addition to the difficulties of the situation. When the two Administrative Decrees appeared on August 16th they were immediately denounced by the *Temps* as aggravating the minute and suspicious provisions of the new Law which the *République* did not hesitate to describe as "a bastard Law modified by the Council of State." Instead of merely giving regulations for the carrying out of the Law the Decrees made veritable additions to it, a procedure which was plainly unconstitutional. The first dealt mainly with demands for authorisation, whilst the second laid down regulations for the dissolution of illicit associations and unauthorised congregations.

The most serious addition made by the Decrees is in Articles 19 and 20 of the first. By these it is required that a congregation applying for authorisation must

include in its *dossier* a pledge of its corporate and individual submission to the bishop, and an engagement from the bishop to take the congregation and its members under his jurisdiction. As the word jurisdiction is still left undefined, this may mean little or it may mean much. Though the Ministry in general, and M. Waldeck-Rousseau in particular, refuse to say what interpretation is to be placed upon the word, their official organs, as the Bishop of Valence has pointed out, have asserted that the State will only grant authorisation on the condition that the religious "withdraw themselves from the jurisdiction of the Pope in order to place themselves entirely under the jurisdiction of the bishops." In spite of the seriousness of the issue here indicated, no member of the Ministry has thought it worth while to contradict the statement. If the word jurisdiction refers to no more than the ordinary dependence of the regulars upon the bishops for leave to enter a diocese, to open churches and schools, for ordination, and faculties and all that appertains to the charge of souls, the articles in question are useless, for their requirements are already fulfilled by the ordinary Canon Law regulating the relations between bishops and regulars. Giving the Ministry credit for having a definite object in what it decreed, the religious therefore drew the inference that something more was aimed at; and, guided by the finger-post set up by the *Matin*, they sadly concluded that more was asked than they had power to promise—that they should place themselves in the same dependence on the bishops as their brethren of the secular clergy. If that were indeed so, then an endeavour was being made to jockey them out of the only barrier of defence which stood between them and secularisation—the rights over them which the Holy See has ever jealously reserved to itself.

It was only natural that in such perplexity the orders should turn to Rome for guidance. The answer they received was necessarily somewhat general in its terms. The law was again condemned, but the orders were left free to submit to it by seeking authorisation or not, in accordance with a conscientious judgment of what they deemed to be for the best, provided that the supreme rights of the Holy See

were not infringed. They were therefore counselled to submit, not their ancient rules and constitutions, but only a synopsis of their statutes corresponding to the points included in the canonical obedience due from them to the ordinaries. At the same time, a letter was also sent to the bishops, in which, after drawing their attention to "the specially important point of the exemption of regulars which it is the desire of the Holy See to preserve intact," Cardinal Gotti explained that, "if on the one hand the Holy See desires to maintain [canonical] subjection to the bishops, it cannot, on the other hand, allow that in other matters the direct and immediate exercise of its supreme authority over the Orders and Institutes to which it has granted exemption, should be either misunderstood or diminished." The Pope has thus gone as far as he could for the sake of peace by leaving the congregations to act according to their widely-differing circumstances.

But the vexatious additions to the Law made by the Decrees extend beyond this crucial point of jurisdiction. The thicket of formality through which the congregation has to make its painful way to authorisation has also to be penetrated by each of its establishments, with the difference that whilst a law is necessary to confer existence on the congregation as a whole, a decree of the Council of State is sufficient for its separate houses. Curiously enough, this decree is made partly dependent on the whim of the municipal councils and upon the good report of the prefects of the departments, and is to determine under what conditions the establishment is to be worked. Here, again, as we have already pointed out, the Government have secured for themselves an opportunity of forbidding the religious, even if a teaching order, to open a school. And as if to strengthen any suspicions that may arise as to the aims of the Government directed against religious teaching, Article 29 of the Decree lays down a police regulation which places the teachers in private schools—the great majority of which are religious—in a position very similar to that of a ticket-of-leave man. It is therein provided that in every private educational establishment a special register is to be kept, giving full personal details as to the members

of the staff of teachers which is to be shown on demand to the administrative, academic, or judicial authorities.

Our readers will now be able to appreciate the difficult position of the unauthorised orders. They were indeed on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand the mere application for authorisation carried with it serious inconveniences, and even if it should turn out successful would confer but a sorry existence embittered with the consciousness that its continuance was but precarious at the best. On the other hand the automatic result of abstention was dissolution and confiscation. The Law of authorisation leaves a sword over the heads of the congregations hanging by the slender thread of the whim or convenience of the ephemeral Ministers of the Republic, but Article 18 pronounces the death-sentence of the unauthorised; the congregation is regarded as legally dissolved, and dissolution is followed by the liquidation and sequestration of its property. The members are scattered, and their works, all that they had lived and laboured for, doomed to extinction. That is an outlook which must have made the highest-spirited pause. Any sort of possible existence, however cribbed, cabined, and confined within the restrictions of the Law and the regulations of an administrative none too friendly, were better than annihilation and its sad train of consequences to their sick and poor, their children and old people, the responsibility of whose charge had been voluntarily undertaken by the congregation. To those communities which had no houses abroad and had no resources of their own it was a question of life and death. Hoping, therefore, against all hope, such communities, many of them of a diocesan character, and some of the greater orders like the Dominicans, have sent in their applications for authorisation, thus throwing the responsibility of their destruction and of the ruin of monasticism in France, upon the shoulders of the Government.

Others again have abandoned their old homes and, setting their faces to the frontier or the sea, have traversed the painful path of exile to seek in other lands and among strangers the liberty to pray and work together in peace,

which has been denied to them at home. France is the poorer for the closing of the great doors of Solesmes and Ligugé and by the flight of all the Carthusian communities, except that of the Grande Chartreuse, which only consented to apply on what almost amounted to an undertaking that their application would be supported by the Government. The Jesuit Fathers also preferred to disband or to go into exile rather than appear to sanction a piece of legislation which, as they have explained, "strikes at us in our most essential rights as free men, as citizens, as Catholics, and as ecclesiastics . . . and by striking at the communities, strikes at the Church behind them. . . . The present Law is but a fresh step forward in the war which is being carried on against the Church. It is the Church which is being attacked in the communities."

The truth of that last statement is apparent to anyone who has followed the debates in the Chambers. M. Prache laid bare by the help of documentary evidence the designs of the Lodges against the communities and the Church, an indictment which was summed up by M. Aynard, speaking from his own experience, as follows: "I will not insist on the hidden power exercised with the Government by the Freemasons. It is a demonstrated fact." It was in vain that M. Waldeck-Rousseau had endeavoured to distinguish between the congregations and the Church, and to show that in striking the orders he was acting rather for the good of and in defence of the Church. One of his political masters had been beforehand. In the opening sitting, M. Viviani had declared that the connection between the Church and the congregations was as close as that of flesh and blood, and that so, the country was face to face, not only with the congregations, but with the Catholic Church. It was necessary to replace them by lay institutions and to win back the monopoly of teaching; but "even when all that had been accomplished only a part of the problem would be solved. . . . The truth is that we have here the meeting-ground between society as founded on the will of man, and society as founded upon the will of God. The congregations and the Church are a menace to us not only by the personal

activity of their members, but also by the propagation of the faith." That frank declaration was cheered by the Left, and may be said to dominate the whole situation.

It would be beside our purpose to enter into the controversy that has unfortunately arisen as to the application for authorisation. The policy of applying has been made the shuttlecock of party passion and narrow jealousies, and severe judgment has been passed upon some of those who have used the liberty allowed them by Rome to leave the country. We have preferred to indicate the difficulties on either side, and to abstain from venturing a verdict which could only be given in the light of the full circumstances of each particular congregation and community.

But whatever the merits of this controversy may be, there can be no doubt at all that the present is darkened by legislation which, in the words of the Archbishop of Albi, a prelate who has been quoted in a correspondence in the *Times* as of singular moderation, is "inspired by a spirit of ostracism," and which, "instead of establishing unity by peace and order by tolerance, may become a weapon of offence calculated less to reconcile opponents than to do away with one for the advantage of the other. . . . Nothing like it, nothing so sad has been witnessed in France since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Ought not that sad experience, the wounds of which are not yet healed, to have been sufficient to teach us that a people has nothing to gain from making its country uninhabitable to a portion of its children?" And if the present is dark, what of the future? The congregations in France will be sadly thinned, not only by voluntary exile, but by the compulsory dispersion of others, for even in the opinion of men like M. Ribot and M. Aynard authorisation will be refused to many. The Budget of Public Worship has been denounced, and even as this article leaves the hands of the writer, the *Français* has published a call to arms from M. Viviani for a fresh campaign against the Church of France. The end of the Concordat is not yet, but out of the thunderous clouds which are gathering so thickly around it may come the lightning for its destruction.

J. B. MILBURN.

ART III.—ANGÉLIQUE ARNAULD.—II.*

Angélique Arnauld. Par R. MONLAUR. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1901. 8vo. Pp. 406.

THE second and saddest part of the life of Angélique Arnauld may be said to begin about the year 1630; yet, to all appearances, Madame de Port Royal was then at the height of her reputation: her middle age had more than fulfilled the promises of her youth, and there were few religious women in the kingdom so widely respected as the exemplary and gifted abbess, whose successful work at Port Royal and at Maubuisson had met with general approbation. In 1626, the removal of her community from Port Royal to Paris brought her more prominently still before the public. This important step was due to Madame Arnauld, who, since her widowhood, had joined the order, where five of her children, Angélique, Agnes, Anne, Eugénie, Marie Claire, and Madeleine, had already taken the veil, and where her eldest daughter, Madame Le Maistre, was to become a nun some years later.

The picturesque valley of Port Royal seems to have been extremely unhealthy, probably from its defective drainage; the nuns died off in quick succession, to the alarm of Madame Arnauld, who, we may remember, had from the outset taken an active interest in the material well-being of the abbey. At her suggestion, Angélique applied to the Archbishop of Paris, Jean François de Goudi, for leave to transfer her community to Paris, and in December, 1626, she took possession of a large "hôtel," which the generosity of her friends had enlarged for the reception of the community.

* Continued from DUBLIN REVIEW, October, 1901.

A portion of the primitive buildings still exist; they stand far away from the fashionable quarter of modern Paris, beyond the Montparnasse railway station. In ancient times the street where the convent was situated bore the unsavoury name of Rue de la Bourbe, literally, mud street. The house was used as a convent until 1790, when it was turned into a prison, and, by a curious irony, considering its destination, instead of Port Royal it was called *Port Libre*. Six years later, in 1796, it became a hospital for women; it is still used as such and is known as "la Maternité"; the Rue de la Bourbe has been transformed into the wide and handsome Boulevard de Port Royal.

We fain would read the thoughts of Angélique, when she took leave of the quiet spot where the best and happiest years of her life had been spent; but nothing remains to tell us what passed in her proud, self-contained heart. We only read in the history of the convent that on the day of her departure she stood on the threshold of her old home with a bag of money at hand, and that to all the poor people who came to take leave of her she gave a handful of coin.

An old beggar, more infirm than the rest, drew near when the bag was quite empty, and "Madame l'Abesse," having no money left, took off her shoes and handed them to him.

A transformation, scarcely less important than the removal from Port Royal to Paris, took place in the interior discipline of the community about the same time. Our readers may remember that Port Royal, being a Cistercian Abbey, was under the direct dependance of the Abbot of Citeaux. In 1625, Monsieur de Boucherant, the head of the Cistercians, died. Without going so far as to assist Angélique in her work of reform, he had, like many others, been influenced by her powerful individuality and he ended by approving all she did. His successor, Monsieur de Nivelle, belonged to another school: he openly blamed both the changes made by the Abbess and her removal to Paris.

Madame de Port Royal, foreseeing the opposition she would meet with from her new superior, solved the difficulty

in her own way by breaking with Citeaux. She enlisted the assistance of her influential friends, wrote herself to Rome, and ended by obtaining Pope Urban VIII.'s permission to withdraw herself and her community from the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Citeaux. She was moreover authorised to adopt the rule of St. Augustine instead of that of St. Bernard.

Madame Angélique, in her confidential correspondence with St. Jane de Chantal, once candidly owned to the latter that "opposition made her ill," and since the gentle influence of St. Francis had been removed from her path this horror of contradiction had assumed alarming proportions. Yet at certain moments, in the sincerity of her soul, she herself appears to have clearly realized that her independent spirit was a standing temptation, and shortly after her separation from Citeaux, she made an effort to conquer her innate love of power. With the permission of the Queen Regent (which was necessary, Port Royal being a royal abbey), she laid aside the crozier that her hands had wielded for nearly thirty years. Mère Geneviève le Tardif became Abbess of Port Royal, and Angélique one of her subordinates.

When our heroine performed this act of renunciation, she was certainly in good faith, but, with her, to command had become a second nature, and before long she resumed her former attitude. Let us add that the events of her life had contributed to develop her despotic spirit. Except for the short time during which St. Francis of Sales had directed her conscience, she had been since the age of eleven practically her own mistress, and, moreover, generally surrounded by minds inferior to her own; both circumstances were fraught with danger to one of her imperious and self-sufficient disposition.

Among the friends of Port Royal at this particular phase of its history was Mgr. Zamet, Bishop of Langres, whom St. Francis of Sales knew and esteemed as a good and pious prelate, but who seems, as the sequel will prove, to have been wanting in penetration and prudence.

He had re-established religious discipline in a famous convent in his diocese, l'Abbaye "du Tard," near Dijon,

and this brought him into frequent communication with Angélique. She even consented to send her sisters, Agnes and Marie Claire, to spend some years in the Burgundian abbey, where Mgr. Zamet wished to establish the spirit of penance and perfect discipline that existed at Port Royal.

The good bishop had another and more difficult project at heart. He wished to found an Order where Perpetual Adoration should be practised ; to his delight, Angélique willingly entered into his plans, and it was arranged that the new community should be recruited from among the nuns of Port Royal and also among those of the "Tard." But, although Mgr. Zamet valued Madame Angélique's sympathy and assistance, he was secretly afraid of her domineering spirit, and he felt that if ever his views and hers clashed, she would find it difficult to yield to his wishes. When, therefore, he was authorized by Rome to establish a convent of his new order in Paris, he proposed as its abbess Jeanne de St. Joseph de Poulans, a nun from the diocese of Langres ; but the Archbishop of Paris, to whom the Pope had given a certain authority over the new foundation, refused to accept this choice and insisted upon Angélique Arnauld being placed at the head of the monastery. The bishop was obliged to yield, but the knowledge that he had been opposed to her election seems to have rankled in Angélique's heart, and their relations were, from the outset, somewhat strained.

However, the new abbess took possession of her post with a certain amount of pomp. Madame de Longueville, a princess of royal blood, insisted on conducting her in person to the Rue Coquillière, where the convent was situated. It stood close to the Louvre, in the centre of what was at that time the fashionable quarter of Paris, and this circumstance, together with the attraction of novelty and the reputation of its Abbess, brought the new foundation into notice. Priests flocked to say Mass in the chapel, and the ladies of the Court invaded the parlours. "Madame l'Abbesse" did her best to guard her nuns from mundane influences ; indeed, her own austerity seemed to increase every day. She even disapproved of the external marks of respect with which Mgr. Zamet loved to surround

the Blessed Sacrament, and blamed the use of lights and flowers on the altar ; but although their views occasionally differed, the bishop and the abbess worked together in apparent peace until an unfortunate incident led to unexpected trouble.

The original cause of the mischief was Agnes Arnauld, who, after having been her sister's coadjutrix at Port Royal, had been sent to reform several important religious houses, a difficult and delicate mission, which she accomplished with real success. Together with a strong dose of the Arnauld pride, Agnes had a mind that loved to indulge in mystical considerations, sometimes degenerating into obscure and unorthodox theories. These she embodied in a curious treatise, called "*Le Chapelet Secret du Saint Sacrement*," where the dogma of the Real Presence was commented upon in terms calculated to terrify instead of to attract the reader. She did not put her name to the book ; it had been written for some years, and had circulated among friends of the community, whose theological insight was not keen enough to detect its errors.

In 1633, one of these sent it to Mgr. de Bellegarde, Archbishop of Sens, little thinking of the effect it would produce on the prelate. Under the writer's confused, complicated, and sometimes incomprehensible language, he discovered errors so grave that he thought it his duty to submit the volume to the Sorbonne. Eight doctors in theology, all learned and prudent men, made a careful study of its contents, and the result was that in June, 1633, they condemned it as "dangerous, full of evil consequences, and deserving to be prohibited and suppressed." Naturally enough, the sentence created a certain amount of scandal and brought some discredit upon the hitherto fashionable convent of the "*Daughters of the Blessed Sacrament*," but to this both Angélique and Agnes seemed strangely indifferent—indeed, with a coolness that was in itself a significant symptom, they decided that the doctrine contained in the treatise was too sublime to be grasped by vulgar minds !

The agitation created in religious circles was consider-

ably increased when a pamphlet appeared, in which "Le Chapelet Secret" was praised and defended with much enthusiasm. The pamphlet was anonymous, but before long its author's identity became known, and it was discovered that the champion of the prohibited treatise was a priest, an old acquaintance of the Arnauld family—Jean du Verger de Hauranne, better known as the Abbé de St. Cyran.

St. Cyran was born at Bayonne in 1581. When a student at the Paris University he formed a close friendship with a Dutchman, Cornelius Jansen, who devoted his time and attention to the study of that most difficult of subjects—grace. He interested St. Cyran in his pursuits; the two became inseparable, and the result of their prolonged study of St. Augustine was their conviction that the Church had gone astray in her doctrine and needed a thorough reform.

At first, St. Cyran kept these ideas to himself; only, at intervals, he seems to have revealed them to Père de Coudren, a celebrated Oratorian of the day, who, after having been favourably impressed by the abbé's austere life, became, on closer acquaintance, alarmed at his subtle and confused turn of mind and inordinate spiritual pride.

In 1621, St. Cyran made the acquaintance of Arnauld d'Audilly, Angélique's eldest brother, and through him became known to the other members of the family.

In the letters that were exchanged at this period between Jansen and his French friend, it stands revealed that the latter had an object in view in cultivating the friendship of the Abbess of Port Royal. He was anxious to meet with an influential religious order that would adopt and support his religious teaching; and, disappointed at Père de Coudren's prudent withdrawal, he turned his attention to Madame Angélique. He felt that she might, if her sympathies were enlisted in the cause, prove a useful and powerful auxiliary.

Unfortunately the very weaknesses that we have had occasion to notice in our heroine's character inclined her to approve of St. Cyran and his doctrines. His apparent austerity, his critical spirit and hard views

attracted rather than repelled her ; but it was not till his championship of " *Le Chapelet Secret* " had brought him more prominently before her notice that she gave him her full confidence.

Mgr. Zamet, whose want of perception here shows itself, unconsciously let the wolf into the fold by inviting the abbé to preach to the nuns of the Rue Coquillière. He did so during two years, and had ample time to unfold his doctrines, which at first seem to have repelled and alarmed his hearers. They were startled by his continual threats of the justice of God, and his terrifying denunciations of the wickedness of the human soul. However, "*Madame l'Abbesse*" had decreed that he should become the spiritual director of her community, and one of the nuns relates that she spoke to them "so strongly" on the subject that the most reluctant were forced to accept the abbé as their confessor. We know enough of Angélique's iron will to understand how impossible it must have been for the frightened sisters to resist her on this occasion.

St. Cyran not only persuaded the "Daughters of the Blessed Sacrament" to accept his teaching, in spite of their repugnance, but he also (and in this the man's crafty nature reveals itself) prejudiced them against their unsuspecting founder, of whom he spoke with great contempt as an ignorant man, who was unfit to direct souls in the path of spirituality.

After a long absence from Paris, Mgr. Zamet returned to visit his beloved convent, and great was his dismay when he discovered the change that had come over the community. Not only did the nuns set his authority completely aside ; their curious views and practices shocked and alarmed him. They seldom received the Sacraments, and spoke learnedly of the discipline of the primitive Church which they wished to revive. In a letter to the Bishop of St. Malo, Mgr. Zamet pathetically deplores the blindness with which he had allowed St. Cyran free access to the community ; he goes on to relate how the Abbess now remained for months together without receiving Holy Communion, how she continually quoted the canons, the councils and the so-called doctrine of St. Augustine upon grace, and even

enlarged on these subjects to the women of the world who visited her, some of whom were frivolous enough to laugh at her grave discourses. He was peculiarly sensitive to the duplicity with which St. Cyran had forbidden the nuns to reveal the doctrines that he taught and the practices that he established among them.

Nevertheless the bishop still hoped to put an end to the evil, and he endeavoured to persuade the abbess to break with St. Cyran. This she distinctly declined to do, and, to avoid further discussion, she secretly sent for Mère Geneviève le Tardif, abbess of the convent of the Rue de la Bourbe, established her superioress in the Rue Coquellière, and herself returned to her former community, where St. Cyran's influence soon became all powerful.

One of his first converts was Angélique's second self, Agnes Arnauld, whose love for obscure and complicated points of doctrine made her enter readily into the subtleties of Jansenism. Her sister, Marie Claire, was a more difficult conquest: she was a gentle, tender soul, with nothing of the Arnauld pride and hardness. Her devotion to the Blessed Virgin was that of a child for its mother, and was in harmony with her sensitive, loving nature. At first, St. Cyran's views of God's relations towards man, his terrible denunciations of human depravity, his method of presenting God as the embodiment of justice, and of overlooking His infinite mercy, repelled her. She struggled against his evil influence like a poor bird in a net, and, at the cost of much pain, she clung steadily to the teaching of her youth. At last, however, the persuasions of Angélique and Agnes induced her, poor innocent soul! to write a piteous letter to St. Cyran, begging him to consent to direct her in spite of her "criminal life."

The abbé held back during six months, leaving Marie Claire a prey to terror and remorse. At last he consented to receive her, and, after she had poured forth her troubled thoughts, he drily observed that he feared she never would be converted: "If you had died thus," he added, "you could not have hoped for much share in the joys of heaven."

Poor Marie Clare, whose only crime had been her

reluctance to accept St. Cyran's doctrines, ended by believing herself a sinner of the darkest dye. Her terrible director deprived her of Holy Communion from the Assumption to Pentecost, and, at her own request, she was removed from the choir nuns and placed among the lay sisters. When she seemed to regret the Divine Office, in which she had delighted, St. Cyran bade her repeat this one prayer: "*Retirez vous de moi, Seigneur*"—"Depart from me, O Lord, depart from me." She obtained her sister's leave to sleep in a wretched corner under the staircase, and to eat only what the other nuns left on their plates. At last, between bodily privations and mental suffering, her health completely broke down, but she continued her penitential life, and the abbess seems to have allowed her to kill herself by inches, without lifting a finger to prevent her.

Marie Claire's austerities did not bring her peace, and her letters to St. Cyran are pitiful in their expressions of terror. Whenever she went to confession her anguish was such that she seemed ready to die. At last the end came. Although her director had done his best to stifle even her devotion to the Blessed Virgin by reminding her that Mary's greatness is "terrible," the old, tender love remained, and on her death-bed she continued to call on her heavenly Mother by the loving names that she had used in her youth.

Marie Clare Arnauld is one of the most lovable victims of the Jansenist heresy; she was evidently cast in a softer mould than her elder sisters: too weak to resist their influence, she died, crushed soul and body, under their inflexible yoke.

Although he found in Madame de Port Royal a powerful and devoted ally, St. Cyran still clung to his project of gathering together a body of men, who might become, so to speak, the missionaries of the sect. His attempts to enlist the good offices of the Oratorians having been checked by Père de Coudren, he resolved to train a certain number of disciples according to his views, in order that they might continue his self-imposed mission of reforming the teaching of the Church.

Thus were founded the "Messieurs de Port Royal," who lived first in a house near the convent of the Rue de la Bourbe, and afterwards in a country house called Les Granges, close to the Abbey of Port Royal des Champs. They were chiefly laymen, cultured, and, as a rule, highly gifted men, whom it is pitiful to see employed in the defence of false and dangerous doctrines.

The first to come was Angélique's nephew, Antoine Le Maistre, son of Catherine Arnauld, the eldest of the sisters. He was a rising barrister, with a fine career before him. In 1637 he left the world, and, under the guidance of St. Cyran, gave himself up to a life of penance and study. His younger brothers, Monsieur de Sericourt and Monsieur de Sacy, joined him soon afterwards. The three were very different; Antoine, brilliant, energetic, full of life and vigour; Monsieur de Sericourt, gentler, more affectionate and retiring, and his mother's favourite; Monsieur de Sacy, cold and stiff, the conventional type of a Jansenist teacher. Another member of the association was Antoine Singlin, a priest, narrow-minded and scrupulous, who often remained for six months together without saying Mass. Other adepts, chiefly laymen, joined the "Messieurs" later on. The most illustrious was Blaise Pascal; others were sincere enthusiasts, such as Monsieur de la Rivière, a former soldier, who spent his days in the woods meditating; and Monsieur de la Petitière, "more like a lion than a man," who, to mortify his pride, became shoemaker to the nuns.

However, soon after St. Cyran had thus laid the foundation of the association on which he built his hopes, an event occurred that threatened to destroy his carefully-formed plans; but, unfortunately for the peace and happiness of many noble souls, the tempest that shook his work was only a passing one, and, indeed, in a certain sense, it rather added to his popularity by investing him with the halo of martyrdom. The reins of government in France were at that time in the powerful grasp of Cardinal Richelieu; if his policy was sometimes open to criticism, he undoubtedly possessed an extraordinary gift of penetration and real genius for government. He knew St. Cyran, who, in spite of his boasted austerity, was

not above flattering the omnipotent minister, but of late Richelieu's suspicions had been aroused by rumours respecting the abbé's orthodoxy. Before taking any active steps, the minister made a careful inquiry into the matter, and privately consulted men whose personal character commanded his confidence, and whose intimate acquaintance with St. Cyran gave due weight to their testimony. From Mgr. Zamet he heard strange tales of the practices introduced among the "Daughters of the Blessed Sacrament." St. Vincent of Paul repeated to him St. Cyran's startling assertion that for the last 600 years the Church had gone astray. "God has revealed to me," he said, "that there is no longer a Church." Père de Coudren related how the abbé had expressed his conviction that, in many cases, the direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost might take the place of the Sacraments. From these and other testimonies, no less significant, Richelieu came to the conclusion that St. Cyran was a dangerous character, and, on the 15th of May, 1638, to the consternation of his friends, the Jansenist leader found himself suddenly transferred to the "donjon" of Vincennes.

The affair had been secretly planned, and promptly executed; the Cardinal quietly observing to his intimates that: "Many evils might have been avoided if Luther and Calvin had been imprisoned when they began to teach."

Madame de Port Royal was indignant when she heard the news; both she and her brother, Arnauld d'Audilly, began to intrigue on behalf of the prisoner, and succeeded in enlisting the good offices of Richelieu's beloved niece, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon. However, when the duchess approached the subject, her uncle, in reply, showed her the private documents upon which he had formed his opinion, and Madame d'Aiguillon, herself a holy and sensible woman, immediately withdrew her petition. Angélique was not one to forgive what she considered a betrayal of the good cause, and she relates that when the duchess came to see her, the "Spirit of God" impelled her to address her visitor thus: "Madame, there are men who are prisoners here below, who will be eternally free and happy; others, on the contrary, are free, powerful and

happy now, but will be captives and slaves in eternity."

The irate abbess complacently adds that the duchess, on hearing these words, was quite "confused."

Not only did Richelieu put a stop to St. Cyran's career as a teacher, he also closed the convent of the Rue Coquillière, and ordered the "Messieurs" to disperse. They retired to Port Royal des Champs, where they remained thenceforth, except when during brief intervals, their association was temporarily broken up.

Jansen, who had become Bishop of Ypres, died during his friend's imprisonment at Vincennes, leaving behind him a bulky volume, in which his teaching was embodied. The volume was called the "Augustinus," because it professed to contain the pure doctrine of St. Augustine upon grace and two of Jansen's or Jansenius's disciples, Froment and Calenus, undertook to publish the ponderous treatise. They did so in secret, but the Jesuits, having discovered the existence of the work, denounced it to Rome as being full of dangerous errors.

The news that the "Augustinus" was being discussed before the Roman ecclesiastical tribunals created much excitement among the adepts of the sect, and at the instigation of St. Cyran, Antoine Arnauld, our heroine's youngest brother, entered the lists on behalf of the incriminated volume. His treatise, "La fréquente Communion," was inspired by the teaching of Jansenius; it gave rise to vehement discussions, not only among priests and theologians, but also among laymen, and even among the ladies of the Court, with many of whom it was the fashion to dabble in theology. The book is written with undoubted talent, and contains certain statements and opinions that have in them an element of truth, but its general spirit and aim are false and dangerous. St. Vincent of Paul, the most benevolent and tolerant of modern saints, struck the right note when he said that Arnauld's book *may possibly* have inspired a *hundred* souls with due reverence for the Blessed Sacrament, but that it *most certainly* had driven *ten thousand* others away from the sacraments.

A curious and characteristic feature of the case is the

passionate interest with which these knotty points were discussed by laymen and women of the world, whose love for theological discussions was, we venture to say, greater than their knowledge of theology. Their descendants in the twentieth century would probably regard as uninteresting, and hopelessly dry, controversies that delighted the great ladies of Anne of Austria's Court.

The quarrel was at its height when Richelieu died, and two months later, in February, 1643, St. Cyran came out of prison. Arnauld d'Audilly hastened to Vincennes to be his escort, and Mère Agnes, wishing to inform her community of the event without breaking the rule of silence, entered the refectory where the nuns were assembled, and silently unfastened her girdle, thereby giving them to understand that "God had delivered his servant from bondage."

However, the joy of St. Cyran's disciples was short-lived. That same year, 1643, Pope Urban VIII. solemnly condemned the "Augustinus," and St. Cyran's disappointment proved too much for his health, which had been somewhat undermined by his imprisonment. He died almost suddenly in October, 1643, and it has never been clearly proved whether or not he had time to receive the last Sacraments.

Madame de Port Royal, his "eldest daughter," as she called herself, heard the news of his death with the stoicism that in her had now become a second nature. She neither wept nor trembled, but raised her eyes to heaven with the words, "Dominus in cœlo." This apparent insensibility was still more striking when, in 1641, Madame Arnauld died, surrounded by her six daughters and six granddaughters, all of them religious at Port Royal. After receiving the last Sacraments, twenty days before her death, Madame Arnauld refused, from self-denial, to see her confessor again. Père Rapin tells us that this was a favourite practice at Port Royal. Angélique betrayed neither by a word or a sign the feelings that must have filled her soul as she watched by her mother's bed; St. Cyran's teaching seems to have dried up the fountains of tenderness and sympathy within her. Yet, to the last,

the dying woman showed a touching admiration for the daughter under whose rule she had lived for the last twelve years. She lay unmurmuring and resigned, pursued by terrible fears of eternity and crushed by a depressing sadness, yet she roused herself sufficiently to appoint the abbess the guide and counsellor of her brothers and sisters.

Angélique seems to have considered herself the leader, not only of her family, but also of the Jansenists in general. Her influence over her younger brother, Antoine, was unbounded; he was the mouthpiece of the party of which she was the soul. Her elder brother, Arnauld d'Audilly, was also an adept of the sect, but he was less hard, less earnest, and perhaps less gifted than either Angélique or Antoine. He was more of a man of the world, refined and witty, popular among the fashionable circles of the day, and he recruited converts to Jansenism among the great ladies of the Court who were his friends. Some of these became sincerely attached to the Abbess, to whom d'Audilly introduced them, and whose influence was recognised even by those who resembled her least. Others, like Anne de Rohan, Princesse de Guemenée, seem to have persevered in a worldly course that was far from edifying, and Madame de Port Royal was often discouraged and wearied by the freaks of this most unsatisfactory convert. Another frequent visitor was the Marquise de Sablé, who in the end took up her abode in the out-buildings of the abbey. She was, in every respect, the exact opposite of the austere abbess under whose wing she elected to live: a "précieuse," elegant, frivolous, dainty in her habits, subject to fears and fancies, which Mère Angélique treated with unusual indulgence. Occasionally, however, the abbess seems to have found her visitors difficult to manage: "I must go and separate our ladies," she used to say; "they spoil one another."

More enduring was the friendship that existed for many years between Madame de Port Royal and another member of the group, the Princess Marie de Gonzague-Clèves, who, after spending her youth at the French Court, married in

quick succession two brothers, who both became Kings of Poland. Her life as the sovereign of a country convulsed by perpetual warfare was agitated and unhappy, and the loss of her children tried her deeply. Angélique is at her very best in the letters she wrote to the anxious Queen, and of which Agnes secretly made copies before they were sent to Poland. Of the two women, the abbess was the most royally endowed in gifts of intellect and character; her letters breathe a high-minded energy and an admirable detachment from earthly things, and her language is naturally and simply eloquent. Marie de Gonzague, soft-natured and kind-hearted, was distressed to find that her friend was in disgrace on account of her religious opinions, and she wrote to Pope Alexander VII. on her behalf. She was no theologian, and probably in her distant Polish Court knew little and understood still less about the controversies that raged so fiercely in France.

These great ladies were the personal friends of the abbess, but with them Jansenism was more a matter either of fashion or of sympathy than of real conviction. As a rule, the new doctrines were more popular with the middle classes than with the more frivolous Court circles, on whom the Queen Regent's open dislike to the sect was not without its influence. The "*familles de robe*," to whom the Arnaulds belonged, were its real supporters: its teaching seemed to suit their austere and somewhat critical spirit.

In 1648 an event took place in the life of our heroine which, for the time at least, appeared to bring her unmixed joy. A singular restlessness had possessed her for some years past, and, under her marble mask, she was evidently weary and ill at ease. A symptom of this unrest was her longing to return to her old home at Port Royal des Champs, a spot which to her was full of precious memories.

The motives that had prompted her removal to Paris no longer existed; the "*Messieurs*," among whom were her brothers and nephews, having, by their able management of the abbey lands, considerably improved the sanitary condition of the place. On the 13th of May,

therefore, the abbess and a portion of her community returned to the quiet valley, then in the flush of its spring beauty, leaving the remainder of the nuns in the Paris convent.

The scene must have been an impressive one. At two in the afternoon, the "Messieurs" assembled in front of the church, whose bells were ringing merrily. Behind them stood the peasants and the poor, among whom were some old women, who cast themselves weeping at the feet of "Madame l'Abbesse," their former benefactress. The nuns in their white habits, upon which the red scapular, which they had adopted in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, made a patch of crimson, advanced in solemn procession and took their places in the choir; the hermits followed them, and the voices of both blended in a glorious *Te Deum*.

After her return to the place on earth that she loved best, Angélique's restless soul seems to have experienced a brief sensation of joy, and even peace. She, who was in general so reticent in her expressions of feeling, writes to the Queen of Poland that it is impossible to imagine a more beautiful solitude, and Mère Agnes is no less enthusiastic. The hermits were established at Les Granges, a country house that still stands just above the valley, and they considered themselves the servants and defenders of the nuns, whom Antoine Le Maistre chivalrously calls "our Queens."

This ideal state of things was, however, roughly interrupted by the civil war, called the "Fronde," which lasted from 1648 to 1653, and brought indescribable misery upon the country around Paris. But these adverse circumstances appealed to Madame de Port Royal's large-hearted generosity, and during those terrible years of war and famine we recognise in the abbess the same unstinting charity that in former years made the English friar, Archange de Pembroke, exclaim: "Your name ought to be Madame de Cœur Royal."

Writing to the Queen of Poland, our heroine describes the villages near Paris as "completely deserted; the surviving inhabitants have sought a refuge in the woods,

the others having either died of hunger or been killed by the soldiers."

The Duke de Luynes, a friend of the community, provided for the defence of Port Royal; he built towers round the convent and armed the hermits with guns, but, for a time, it was thought wiser to send the nuns back to the Paris monastery, which was filled to overflowing. Besides giving shelter to the two communities, its doors opened wide to receive the peasants, who sought a refuge within the city gates.

Angélique describes the court as "full of hens, turkeys, ducks and geese." . . . the church as "full of corn, oats, vegetables and other things," among which were the books belonging to the hermits. In order to reach the choir, the nuns had to scramble as best they could over these miscellaneous articles.

Many religious women, whose monasteries had been destroyed, also found a refuge at the hospitable convent of the Rue de la Bourbe, and in one of her letters our heroine owns that over two hundred homeless nuns benefited by her hospitality. Unfortunately, she took advantage of the occasion to explain to her guests the doctrines she had learnt from St. Cyran. They seem to have listened with a docility that was probably not unmixed with awe, for, to use the words of her brother, Angélique "had the gift of inspiring fear." In one of her letters she alludes to her guests as "real lambs," and adds that "all those with whom she had dealings generally became like lambs"—a statement that, better than any description, conveys an idea of "Madame de Port Royal's" despotism. At this period of her life she had successfully hardened herself against any show of emotion. In times of crisis, during the Fronde, for instance, she could be, now as ever, generous, helpful, unstinting in her labours and in her charity for others, but neither smiles nor tears ever relieved the stony impassiveness of her countenance. Under this cold exterior her devotion to the miserable errors she had adopted was more earnest than ever, and on the slightest provocation her Jansenist zeal broke forth in proud and angry accents. Thus, when, in June, 1653,

after a long and careful examination, Pope Innocent X. issued a Bull condemning five propositions taken from the "Augustinus," her indignation was extreme. Her letters are full of abuse of "the hypocrites" who venture to attack the true doctrine, and of others, St. Vincent of Paul included, who are "full of zeal and devoid of knowledge."

The condemned propositions contained the very essence of the bulky volume; one of them, for instance, states that it is an error to affirm that Jesus Christ shed his blood for all men; the others, though less explicitly worded, tended in the same way, to bring forward God's severity at the expense of His mercy, and thus drive the souls of men to despair.

The line of conduct pursued by the Jansenists was peculiarly tortuous, and they clung to it with extreme obstinacy. They avoided any discussion upon the essential meaning of the five propositions, but refused to acknowledge that these propositions were really contained in the "Augustinus." Hence, they concluded, the Pope's strictures did not touch Jansenius.

Encouraged by his sister, Antoine Arnauld rushed into the fray, and wrote a pamphlet which was condemned by the Sorbonne, in January, 1656. Angélique braced herself to endure martyrdom for the cause. "They call me Monsieur de St. Cyran's eldest daughter," she wrote; "if there is a persecution the first blows will fall upon me, and thereat I greatly rejoice."

Sad it is to witness so much faithfulness, courage and endurance expended on false ideals and enlisted in the service of an evil cause! We meet with another and no less pathetic example of a noble intellect and generous heart led astray, in the history of Blaise Pascal, the most illustrious and perhaps the most sincere adept of the new heresy. His family belonged, like the Arnaulds, to the "noblesse de robe," and his younger sister, Jacqueline, became a nun at Port Royal. When in the prime of youth he met with an accident that nearly cost him his life; from that hour, his thoughts turned entirely towards God and eternity, he renounced the world, its ambitions and pleasures, and became a penitent of the Jansenist

confessor, Monsieur Singlin. His unusual talents attracted the attention of the leaders of the sect, who requested him to take up his pen in defence of Arnauld's treatise. He did so, and the result of his intervention was the publication of the famous "*Lettres Provinciales*," which are directed chiefly against the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who, from the outset, were the resolute opponents of the Jansenist doctrines. In the "*Lettres*," Pascal's great gifts, his strong intellect, clear and eloquent language, are alas perverted in the service of error, and the use that he makes of altered and falsified texts, when it suits his purpose, is a device unworthy of his character and of his genius. In this case he was evidently misled by the false teaching of men infinitely inferior to himself in point of intellect, but whose bidding he blindly obeyed. In the end, Pascal's ardent personal love for our Lord saved him from the most repellent form of Jansenism; this love is a characteristic and consoling trait of his noble soul.

The excitement created by the "*Provinciales*" alarmed the Queen Regent, Anne of Austria, and in her letters Mère Angélique informs her friends that severe measures are about to be taken against the disciples of St. Cyran. "I feel no anger against Her Majesty," she adds; "I know that she thinks that she is performing a good work."

That same year the "*Petites Ecoles*," where, close to Port Royal, twenty or thirty boys were being educated in the pure doctrines of the sect, were closed by order of the Queen Regent, and the "*messieurs*," or hermits, were likewise compelled to disperse.

The nuns received a visit from Monsieur Daubray, "*lieutenant civil*," who had instructions to question them on the points at issue, but this important official seems to have been considerably awed by "*Madame l'Abbesse*," who made good use of the gift which her brother attributes to her "*of inspiring fear*." The interview was extremely courteous, but led to no results.

When Louis XIV. reached manhood, he pursued his mother's policy with regard to Jansenism, only with greater vigour.

In 1660, by his orders, the assembly of the French

clergy drew up a declaration called the "formulaire"; it was, in fact, a clearly-worded and emphatic disavowal of the five propositions, followed by a profession of complete submission to the Pope. All priests, monks and nuns were required to sign this document. At the same time Monsieur Singlin was removed from Port Royal, the "Petites Ecoles" were closed for the second time, and the postulants, who had lately joined the community, were informed that they must return to their families "till the spirit of the abbey had changed."

Madame Angélique was at Port Royal des Champs when she was informed of these measures, which were intended, so the King hoped, to stamp out the tenacious and subtle heresy. She immediately wrote to Agnes, who was in charge of the Paris convent: "I am in no way troubled," she said; "God is all powerful, and nothing happens unless it is His will." She determined, however, to start for Paris, for although the community in the Rue de la Bourbe had a distinct government, our heroine was *the* Abbess, whose authority was supreme in both monasteries.

As she stepped into her coach to leave Port Royal, never to return, she saw her eldest brother, d'Audilly, who was standing near. "Good-bye, my brother," she said, "be of good courage whatever happens." A few minutes later her coach was stopped by a priest, who informed her that the "lieutenant civil" had just been to visit the convent in Paris. "God be praised," she replied, and began to recite the *Te Deum*.

At the Rue de la Bourbe things were very different, and Angélique found the nuns in tears, evidently expecting martyrdom. Their childishness provoked her, and, although she was bent with age and infirmities, her old, intrepid spirit flashed out. "Have you no faith," she cried; "men are busy, but they are so many flies, and yet you are afraid of them? Your hope is in God, and yet you fear?"

The "lieutenant civil," acting in the King's name, required that the young girls who were educated within the convent should be sent home to their parents, and the Abbess found herself surrounded by these children and

their relations, whose dismay and distress were great. She remained impassive in the midst of the general confusion, while around her the nuns and their pupils wept and trembled. When the Duchess de Chevreuse came to lead away her granddaughters, Mademoiselle d'Albert and Mademoiselle de Luynes, the Abbess bade adieu to the girls, adding: "As long as God is God, I will hope in Him."

These two young girls eventually became nuns at the Abbey of Jouarre, where they were fortunate enough to have Bossuet for their director. The Jansenist influences that had surrounded them in youth had, unfortunately for their peace of mind, left a deep impression on their souls. Madame d'Albert especially seems to have been of a singularly timid nature, and was a prey to continual fears and scruples. Many of Bossuet's letters are addressed to her, and it is touching and instructive to watch with what patience, wisdom, and infinite tact, he endeavours to teach her confidence and joy. He again and again repeats to his trembling penitent that her one remedy is "trust in God," that she must learn to "rejoice in Jesus Christ."

Madame Angélique's health was much impaired when she left Port Royal, and the excitement that reigned in the Paris convent probably contributed to increase the physical weakness, which was now apparent in spite of her proud dignity of bearing. The Jansenist historians, and, above all her own letters, give us a complete and graphic picture of her as she appeared, in everyday life, at the close of her long career. The picture is, in many respects, a painful one, for the traits of character that were visible in the seventeen year-old abbess are here enlarged and exaggerated, instead of being softened by experience and by time. Thus her judgments had become more pitilessly severe. "I see the devil in the words, eyes, and gestures, of the people of the world at the grille," she wrote. To her nuns, her harshness was almost cruel. She forbade flowers in the chapel, and woe betide the nuns who forgot themselves so far as to adorn the altar on feast days? The abbess owns herself that she treated her subjects like "poor slaves," and spoke to them "in a way to make them

tremble." "I may have gone too far," she adds, "but God permitted it so." The sick, the old, the weak, were driven with the same rod of iron; Angélique was as hard to them as she was to herself, and the result was that from 1656 to 1659, in the space of three years, twenty-five nuns died at Port Royal!

Life in the eyes of the abbess was not a path leading to God, where light and shade, tears and smiles are blended, and where infinite love overshadows all; it was a dark, dreary road, at the end of which the criminal must meet his judge, and along which she led her flock in gloom and terror. Some of her instructions to her community contain passages like the following, which gives an idea of the spiritual teaching she gave her nuns: "God will chastise not only those who have misused His graces, but also those to whom He has given none, and he will say to the one and to the other: 'Begone, ye cursed, to everlasting fire!'"

In bygone days Angélique's love for her family had been the one tender spot in her strong nature; now her nearest and dearest passed away, without her shedding a tear. In 1651 died Madame Le Maistre; in 1653 Anne Eugénie, her younger sister, whose terror at the last was such that even the abbess was moved, and owned that "nothing could have alarmed her more."

Yet, as a rule, even the pathos of these death beds did not seem to touch her, and one of the nuns remarks with admiration that "she seemed to have no natural feeling left," forgetting, poor soul, that the Master Himself wept with Martha and Magdalen over their brother's grave!

On May 10th, 1661, Madame de Port Royal took part for the last time in a public function; she followed a procession at the Paris Convent and carried a relic of the true Cross, but on returning to the chapel, she fainted away, and from that day even her iron will had to yield to her failing strength. During three months, from May to August, she lingered on in acute pain. Unable to lie down on account of her continual suffocation, she sat day and night on the edge of her bed feeling, to use her own words, "like a criminal awaiting his sentence." Dark clouds passed over

her soul; "I have feared death all my life," she said, "but all I imagined is nothing to what I now feel."

On July 12th, she was visited by a Vicar General, Monsieur de Contes, who came to ascertain whether the King's orders as to the removal of the pupils had been carried out. The old, proud spirit of the dying abbess asserted itself once more; she expressed her surprise at his visit and also at the treatment inflicted on her community; but the nuns seem to have kept from her all harassing details, and it does not appear that she was required to sign the "*formulaire*," or, indeed, that any theological discussions were suffered to agitate her last days upon earth.

She received the Sacrament three times during her illness, which lasted from May to August, but her depression and unrest were painful to witness. Only, just before the end a great calmness came over her, it seemed as though some blessed influence had put to flight the terrifying shadows that haunted her, and the last words that passed her lips were words of faith and entreaty: "Have mercy on us all, my God, have mercy on us!"

With this appeal to the divine mercy, that in life she had, alas, undervalued, the noble, but erring soul of Angélique Arnauld passed into eternity.

Who shall venture to judge her? Who can determine how far her blindness was wilful, and in what measure the evils of her early training may have mitigated her responsibility?

Her body was buried at the Paris Convent, but her heart was taken back to Port Royal des Champs, the spot on earth she loved best, and where her memory still lives among the ruins of the monastery where she reigned supreme. After reading the story of Angélique, a story at once so instructive and so pathetic, with its record of wasted energies and misdirected efforts, the writer of these lines had the curiosity to visit the valley where our heroine spent her best and brightest years.

Few spots in the neighbourhood of Paris are more picturesque, and in spite of the increase of traffic, of bicycles and motor cars, few places are more silent and secluded even in

these busy days. Nothing remains either of the monastic buildings, of the church, or of the dwelling houses that Madame de Longueville and her friends built for themselves close to the convent. In 1709, Louis XIV, with a view to crushing the tenacious heresy, ordered a wholesale destruction of its stronghold, and even the tombstones in the abbey church were carried away. Here and there stands a bit of wall clothed with ivy, and a tottering walnut tree ; in the grass, the foundations of the church are distinctly visible.

In the centre of these fragments, a small modern edifice, half museum, half oratory has been erected, and within its walls are a collection of books, papers, portraits and relics that belonged to the abbey. The portraits interest us most, Angélique Arnauld's characteristic countenance looks down upon us from the wall, its stern expression reminding us that "Madame l'Abbesse" had the gift "of inspiring fear"; close by are Agnes Arnauld's less marked features, also a portrait of the evil teacher, St. Cyran, whose fatal influence wrought such irreparable havoc in a soul framed for great deeds.

Such as we saw it on a spring day, with a blue sky overhead, carpets of wood anemones underfoot, and around us the fruit trees in full bloom, with their wealth of snowy blossom, Port Royal presented an aspect singularly fair and peaceful, in strong contrast with the tempest tossed soul of its last famous abbess.

Closing our eyes to the present, we seem to see her, not when pride had hardened her heart and false doctrines had distorted her mind, but when, a child in years, she displayed the courage and self-sacrifice of a heroine in the reform of the abbey, or else when, standing on its threshold, she gave away her last piece of money to the poor and then took off her shoes to bestow them on an infirm beggar.

These are the visions that we love best to recall when standing on the spot that Angélique loved so well ; these also, let us hope and believe, are the memories that will have pleaded in her favour when she stood in the presence of Him Whose unbounded comprehension of our poor human nature makes Him infinitely merciful towards its shortcomings.

BARBARA DE COURSON.

ART. IV.—THE CONCEIVABLE DANGERS OF UNBELIEF.

THE desire to be "liberal" in religious thought and feeling is manifestly one of the distinguishing characteristics of our modern time. To acknowledge anything like a binding authority in the sphere of the moral life has almost come to be regarded as a sign of inferior intellectual culture and of a faulty education. Physical science is supposed to have not only satisfactorily demonstrated the purely natural origin of the moral faculty, but to have sufficiently shown that conscience too, and what we term the higher spiritual sense in man, are but the final links of one long chain of purely mechanical evolutionary events.

It is, after all, but natural that, with such conclusions of the modern scientific method of thought, all the manifestations of our moral nature should have experienced a corresponding degree of discredit, and that numbers of intelligent persons should imperceptibly be losing that sense of a higher responsibility which has hitherto been regarded as the moving principle of all progressive life. It could not well be otherwise. When the very power of a free choice between good and evil is declared to depend, in large measure, upon "inherited tendency," and when the possibility of a decision in favour of the morally good in the case of one who is "erblich belastet," as the Germans say, is denied, how can anything approaching authority still be claimed for the human conscience? If the conclusions of science are to be trusted, there is no reason why a troubled conscience should not hereafter be regarded as a symptom of organic disorder, and why the higher manifestations of the moral sense should not be looked upon as an evidence of a morbid and super-sensitive nervous temperament.

But are the conclusions of science to be trusted? This is, after all, the supreme and all-important question which is again and again presenting itself to the thoughtful mind.

The ordinary man of the world, whose views are largely determined by his environments, will probably be disposed to answer it in the affirmative. He has but little inclination to view the matter from any but the most superficial and conventional standpoint, and he welcomes the dicta of science chiefly because they free his mind from a burden which he has always found it somewhat inconvenient to bear. He may possibly regard religion as a very necessary and practical thing, which is essential to the moral life of the community, and without which society can scarcely be expected to hold together; but it is a thing which has no higher binding claim upon himself. He feels instinctively that a thorough conviction of personal responsibility—responsibility extending far beyond the limits of this present life—is not only an exceedingly irksome and troublesome thing from a practical point of view, but a state of mind very apt to give rise to disturbing and disquieting reflections. How very natural for him, therefore, to welcome the dicta of any science which practically bring with them moral emancipation, and which leave him to the undisturbed enjoyment of the manifold pursuits and interests of life.

When we bear in mind the natural tendencies of average human nature, as it is exhibited to us in the ordinary conditions of human life, it is certainly not difficult to understand why the modern science view of life is meeting with such ready and widespread acceptance, and why it is found to be so much easier to trust it rather than the promptings of certain apparently instinctive moral feelings and convictions.

But the fact remains that these moral convictions and intuitions do exist and that they are, moreover, very apt to resist all ordinary attempts at effacement, and this being so it may, I think, with good reason, be doubted, even by non-Catholics, whether the modern scientific view will, after all, bear very close investigation, and whether it will ever

become a settled and permanent one. It seems already certain that this will never be so with really careful and accurate thinkers. The force which will ever be found to be opposing it, and which, I am confident, will prove infinitely stronger in the end than the most authoritative scientific dictum, is the conscience itself. Its voice is far too clear and persistent to be silenced by any dominating form of philosophy, however plausible and convincing it may be, and if experience is to be any guide at all, it is more than probable that it is on this solid rock that modern rationalistic thought will ultimately suffer shipwreck.

For it will have to be admitted that conscience is, after all, the highest ultimate authority which we can have in the matter. Of what use to us are all the results of the best scientific research, and the most forcible arguments which can be adduced with a view to convincing the mind, if they finally all fail in convincing the conscience, if the conscience will persist in telling us that, in spite of ingenious theories and apparently quite logical deductions, we are, and remain, morally responsible for our actions, and that there exists somewhere in this mysterious universe, a higher tribunal by which they will be judged? And that conscience does persist in asserting this, what rational man can deny?

And it will further have to be admitted (without in any way entering upon a question of Theology proper) that there hangs over this same conscience a dark shadow which we cannot disperse, and which somehow resists all the influences which have been and are continually being brought to bear upon it. It is simple matter of experience that neither the advance of education, nor the arts and comforts and luxuries of life, nor the occupation of the mind with a thousand absorbing and interesting problems, even high moral effort and attainment, have proved effectual in dispersing it. It is further admitted that, in numerous instances, those who, by virtue of their position and their many social and intellectual advantages, might be supposed to be most happy and contented are not really happy and contented; that there is in their life that indescribable something which, to say the least, renders it imperfect and

incomplete. It is manifestly conscience, the vague sense of a higher responsibility, not recognised or ignored, of a truer end not attained, which seems to stand between them and real happiness; and most men know how frequently this state of mind leads to that utter weariness of life, of which the outward tokens are so abundantly manifest in the age in which we live. "Some men," wrote the late Professor Romanes, "never acknowledge this articulately or distinctly even to themselves, yet always show it plainly enough to others. . . . Custom may even blind men to their own misery, so far as not to make them realise what is wanting; yet the want is there."

Now it is clear that, so far as our present powers and knowledge go, we have, in the natural order of things, no means of solving this strange psychological problem: we know of nothing that will effectually banish the spectre from our moral life. There is, in the physical world, no set of conditions or environments amidst which we can shake off this discord of the inner life, and which will establish a state of order and harmony within. It seems as though we were out of touch and correspondence with a truer and higher state of things, as though we had lost something which all the arts and pleasures of life, all our intellectual achievements do not and cannot help us to recover—that there are, in fact, in our nature, no inherent powers or possibilities of recovering it.

Now it is manifestly to this fundamental and, after all, but little varying manifestation of the moral conscience, to this blank in life, that the Christian Religion addresses itself; it is upon it that it builds up its entire philosophy. It not only constantly points to the serious issues of human life, but it takes for granted that that seriousness is fully and universally recognised—by all normal and unperverted minds at least. The Apostle of the Gentiles unhesitatingly declares that the conscience is so authoritative and binding a force in man's moral life that those who have not the higher law of the Christian Dispensation will hereafter be judged by the law speaking through the manifestations of their natural conscience, this either excusing or accusing them. And there is nothing in the

history of religious thought that could in any way lead one to suppose that this Apostolic view of the matter has met with any serious opposition, or that right-thinking men have seen in it anything unnatural or contradictory of their own inward feelings and promptings. On the contrary, there is every evidence to show that that view has ever been regarded as a fair and a just one by minds most diverse in intellectual culture and in moral attainment.

But if all this be so—and it is difficult to see on what reasonable grounds it can be denied—why should it be considered an unscientific and unreasonable thing to believe that the Christian explanation as to the origin of these remarkable moral manifestations is, after all, the true one, and that there is in the Christian system pointed out to us the only way likely to lead us out of the difficulty? Christ declared that the sorrows of the soul and the restlessness of the conscience are the natural manifestation of an inward state of discord and disorder which He termed sin, and that no real and permanent relief is possible so long as we refuse to recognise the fact or seek to explain it away. He declared that acceptance of *His* explanation of the matter, and confidence of the means of relief which He points out, could alone solve the problem and restore to the soul the moral balance which it has lost. He disclosed a scheme, or a moral method which, He maintained, would put man in correspondence with that higher sphere to which by destiny he really belongs, and outside of which he can never hope to be wholly contented or happy.

This method, we are told, does not commend itself to the man of science; it is contrary to all he might reasonably expect. Faith in a person he has not seen, and in a method he cannot investigate and analyse, is to him a violation of the scientific principle and of all rational habits of thought. He declares that he is intellectually quite incapable of exercising such faith or to put the method proposed to anything like a practical test. In fact he cannot get himself to believe in the reality and efficacy of the method.

But now, granting for a moment that there is a spiritual

world or life for which man is destined but with which he is (as conscience would certainly seem to indicate), for reasons not fully understood by him, out of touch, on what grounds can it be shown to be unreasonable that the Creator should disclose a system which would put him in touch with it, and that He should institute ways and means, contrary possibly to expectation and experience, but effectual nevertheless in attaining the end in view? We have surely in the natural world endless processes of a precisely analogous nature. We are constantly called upon to place ourselves within the operation of laws which we do not understand, but by the action of which certain well-known results are attained. Our comparative ignorance of such laws does not apparently help us to escape them. Why should it be considered unreasonable then to maintain that, in the sphere of the higher life, similar laws and forces to which we are to become subject are at work, and that from the action of these there is no escape? It is clear, at any rate, that Christianity, especially in its sacramental aspect, claims to be the introduction to such a new and higher order of things, and to possess means of bringing the soul in correspondence with conditions and environments to which it cannot possibly hope to attain by any effort of its own. Throughout the entire thought-structure of the New Testament, for instance, there runs one great fundamental idea upon which all the other ideas are practically built up and with which they are inseparably connected. It is, perhaps, most forcibly expressed in the words: "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." The very form of the thought seems to suggest some fixed law, some kind of unalterable order, some state of things from which there is no known way of escape.

Regarded from the purely natural and scientific point of view there might, of course, be considerable difficulty with regard to this thought. It might not unreasonably be asked: What is precisely the meaning of sin? What are we to understand by the dying of the soul? The subject could easily be shown to bristle with intellectual and philosophical difficulties. But there need be no such

difficulty from the higher and transcendental point of view. There may be a point of view from which the soul, out of touch with the higher environment, and electing to remain subject to the lower, falls under the action of the laws which govern the lower, and consequently is, and remains, morally dead. Such death would not be the immediate consequence of refusing to believe in Christ so much as the result necessarily following upon the refusal to employ or accept the means instituted for the attainment of life. The position of the unbeliever would thus be similar to that of a man who is dying for want of food because, although he knows that that food maintains life, he will not eat of it so long as he does not know of what substance it is composed and by what means the result is attained.

And from such a standpoint it would certainly become conceivable that want of faith in Christ—in other words rejection of His method and refusal to submit to the law of life instituted by Him—may bring with it consequences of a certain kind much more serious possibly than one may at first sight be inclined to suppose.

For even if it be granted that the moral act of unbelief or of disbelief cannot, with some minds, carry with it a responsibility equal to that of other minds, would there not still remain all the practical consequences necessarily flowing from such a negative attitude? And it is clearly no argument against this view to urge the extreme simplicity of the institutions of this new and higher order of things, when compared with the immense importance of the issues attending them, and our own inability to trace the mode of their operation. We have everywhere abundant evidence that the most insignificant causes bring about vital and far-reaching results. A simple thought, whose source and origin no man can trace, may set the world on fire, or may, on the other hand, bring about its moral regeneration. The lightest act or word may determine a life's course or destiny. The tiny seed, no larger than a pin's head, contains vast possibilities. We are moving in a world of wonder and mystery and know very little indeed of the sequence of cause and effect. We cannot see the effect of a genuine sacramental act; it is so simple in its form that

we are almost tempted to despise it, and yet it may, for all that, be a thing of the utmost reality and importance in the other-world order, calling unseen forces into operation, and leaving indelible marks and impressions upon the soul.

It is moreover conceivable that in an extra-corporeal condition, and with sharpened or extended faculties, we shall be able to trace that mark very distinctly; to distinguish, for instance, between the baptized and the unbaptized, between the spiritually fed and the starving. Who knows what the soul really is, of what substance (if one may employ such a term) it is composed, by what means its higher life can best and most effectually be initiated and maintained? That these means are not to be found within the sphere of this natural life, amidst the conditions of death and decay, we might reasonably expect. That the unaided effort of man cannot generate them might, with equal reason, be supposed. What ground then, granting there be another life, and, of course, another world order, for refusing to believe that they must come from without, and that the Christian system, rightly understood, introduces and provides them?

There is, for instance, the Sacrament of Baptism. It is an extremely simple rite and institution—so simple, in fact, that the wise ones of this world treat it with contempt. They cannot see the use of it. In what sense, they say, can it be expected to produce any kind of change; how can it possibly affect the moral character, the latent life of the soul? It is, of course, quite true that we do not understand. But if it really be a supernatural process, a method of the other-world order, how can we be expected to understand? That world is altogether hidden from our view, hidden so effectually from some minds that they have altogether ceased to believe in its existence. A subtle process may surely be taking place all the same, so subtle indeed that it is not perceived by the senses, but powerful and effectual, nevertheless, in securing the end it has in view. Admitting that we are destined, by the mercy of God, to a higher state, a supernatural one, to which we have no right, is it not lawful for God to prescribe in which way,

by what initiation, we are to be admitted to it? And can He not give special powers or produce special effects consequent upon any external ceremony, however simple, appointed by Him? Initiation in Masonic Lodges gives special powers and faculties to members, and so in other cases, in the natural order. Why should not God be able to produce a supernatural effect by a natural agency? The external sign, therefore, of Baptism, viz., water, plus the life-giving energy of which it is the vehicle, may, in the truest possible sense, cleanse and purify the soul, may impart to it some new law and condition of existence—some element which it never possessed before and which, by the laws of life, it could not generate within itself. It may, in some subtle way not discerned by us, be the link between the universe of matter and that of spirit.

In the natural order science has taught us that there is no such thing as spontaneous generation. Organised life cannot spring into being of itself under any conditions. It must be communicated from without, from pre-existing life. Its manifestation is governed by fixed law. So surely the higher life, being *supra naturam*, and therefore unperceived by the senses, must come from without, from the quickening and life-giving Spirit: it too can only manifest itself according to some fixed law, only partially discerned by us. And it may require for its operation some medium, some definite condition which it is for us to provide. And "*Ignorantia modi non tollit certitudinem facti*": that we cannot trace the process, or understand it, and sometimes not even perceive its effect in the outer life, is clearly no argument at all against the reality of the process itself, or against its binding force in that other-world order. It may be that we could do even this were we possessed of one additional sense, of some more refined or developed supernatural faculty. It is conceivable that we shall quite understand when we ourselves enter upon that other-world order.

Psychological research has shown us that certain abnormal persons possess what has been termed "extended faculties," by the operation of which hidden things are disclosed, and the most subtle changes in external

objects can be traced. Ecclesiastical records tell us of saintly persons who could discern evil-doers by peculiar odours emanating from them, who could see spots and marks on the inward soul, who could at once distinguish objects upon which consecrating hands had been laid. There may, in all these things, be no real analogy to the processes here under consideration, but they go to show that such processes are at least probable, that they are not unreasonable, that they may have their right and proper place and sphere in a world-order not understood by us.

And if this be so, the inference surely must be obvious. It may not make any immediate moral difference externally, whether we believe in Christ or whether we do not ; it may, strictly speaking, matter very little whether we have confidence or not in the efficacy of Baptism. But the consequence of our neglect of the Sacrament may be disastrous all the same ; it may make the most vital difference possible in the supernatural order, and it may well be that it is in this direction that the peril of disbelief or unbelief really lies. Our failing to receive the new life-germ from without, and being wholly unable to generate it from within, our souls may remain helpless and lifeless in a very real and definite sense, and we may, in spite of all our culture and enlightenment, and in spite of all our moral aspirations, have to remain outside the sphere of that life-order with which the Sacrament is designed to bring us in touch and correspondence.

Again, there is the Sacrament of Feeding. The very institution of such a sacrament is, to say the least, highly significant. From the standpoint of modern "Ethical" Christianity, it is almost impossible to understand it. There is absolutely no sense in it. In what intelligible way can the physical act of eating and drinking be made to signify to us a great moral truth, or assist us in our moral conduct? How can our character be helped or strengthened by our consuming some bread and wine? What really reflecting mind has ever been assisted by such a use of the Sacrament? The difficulty becomes apparent the moment it is pointed out ; it is custom which is apt to blind our eyes in such matters. We are told that Christ,

the teacher of the highest moral truth, wants us to remember that truth and Himself who taught it, by eating and drinking something. The merest child ought to feel that this was the least likely way of accomplishing such an end. Most men are apt to put away the thought of "higher things" when they eat and drink. Their very instinct would seem to tell them that they are, at such times, out of place. It is, admittedly, the lower nature which is thus being ministered unto, not the higher. The reading of a book, the hearing of a sermon, a recital of the history of the Passion would most certainly be a method far more in accordance with our human nature, and far more calculated to produce in us the effect and impression desired. There is, indeed, the greatest possible intellectual difficulty in this view of the Sacrament, and it is not easy to understand how thoughtful men can still be found defending it.

But from the historical and, if I may use that term, "mystical" standpoint, the difficulty vanishes at once, and the Sacrament assumes an entirely different aspect. It becomes intelligible and, on the line of thought suggested, absolutely consistent. If a life-giving element, coming from without, be needed to bring the soul in touch with new environments and to kindle in it something which unaided human nature cannot generate within itself, if this something is conveyed and imparted by certain outward means and channels, it is but reasonable to suppose that, by some such similar outward means and channels, this something is also kept alive. "The great central thought of the Sacrament of the Altar," says a writer on the subject, "is the intimate union of God with man. It is a participation in the life of God. Why need we supernatural food? Because we are born to a supernatural life, and it is the deposition of the germ of eternal life in a mortal creature. Our nature does not contain within itself the power of self-renovation and self-regulation. It requires the introduction of a new and divine element."

The human soul is here on earth, necessarily and unavoidably, in touch with earthly and material conditions; it is incessantly in danger of parting with what it has

received, or at least of letting its vitalizing power become diminished. It must therefore feed again, and again; it must receive unto itself more and more of the life-imparting elements, so that it may effectually maintain itself amidst the new environments to which it has been transplanted.

And this process is, at any rate, wholly on a line with that natural process by which our bodily life is maintained, and with which we are all familiar. The Sacrament, from this standpoint, certainly becomes intelligible. In this present world-order we cannot discern how and why materials taken into our natural bodies are there transformed into heat, and life, and energy, and into manifold human activity. We cannot watch the process, nor do we precisely understand the laws which regulate it. We only know that the process takes place, and on that knowledge we act. We know that by eating and drinking we are kept in touch with that world of life and energy of which we are a part, and of which we desire to continue to be a part. Our refusal to eat because we do not entirely understand, would be attended by disastrous consequences. These would follow, not so much because of our peculiar mental attitude, but because of the consequences resulting from it. We would be placing ourselves *en rapport* with conditions and environments which carry with them decline and finally death. We would die, simply because we refuse to eat. The circumstance that we still possess a kind of life, or that we once had food and consequently had life, would not save us: we must obey the whole law, even if we do not understand. We must believe, but above all things, we must eat.

It seems to me that Christianity and its sacraments have some such meaning as this, or they have no intelligent meaning at all. Any purely "moral" system of Christian thought, which nevertheless seeks to retain the sacraments, is an outrage to ordinary common sense. The whole of the New Testament is full of the idea of the new *life*, and, without a due recognition of this thought, two thirds of it become wholly unintelligible. This fact was fully admitted by the late Anglican Archbishop Magee in his sermon on the "Christian Theory of the Origin of the Christian Life,"

preached in 1868, on the occasion of the meeting of the British Association at Norwich. "We claim for Christianity," he said, "that it is not a code of morals merely, not a philosophy, nor a creed, nor a system of religious discipline, but that, over and above all these, it is a life, a new and *real vital force* in the world ; a life with its own conditions of existence, its own laws of development, its own peculiar phenomena, as real and as distinct as those of any other form of life which science investigates and classifies, and that this life is in Christ," &c.

It will now be seen that if this line of argument be a true one, grave dangers are unquestionably incurred by the unbeliever, whatever justification there may be for his unbelief, and however lightly he may be disposed to regard the whole matter. The known world is, as every intelligent person knows, governed by fixed and unalterable laws. It is for us to ascertain these laws, so far as we are able, and to obey them to the best of our knowledge and ability. But experience constantly teaches us that our ignorance of them, our indifference respecting them, is attended by precisely the same consequences as our wilful disobedience of them. Drinking poison, for instance, entails the same physical consequences, whether taken by accident or by design. The law takes effect whether we understand it or not, whether we believe it to be a just law or whether we do not.

Now it is surely perfectly conceivable that God acts in the same way in the Spiritual Universe. The process there may be of an analogous nature. It may be absolutely necessary for man, in order to enter upon the divine order of things initiated here and now, to receive the Divine touch and to eat of Divine food. It may be that the highest thought, the noblest action, do not contain within themselves those elements which will quicken and energize the soul and which will enable it to exist amidst supernatural environments. It is both reasonable and conceivable that by the introduction of an element altogether different in kind, this can alone be accomplished. And it is further conceivable that the absence of this element will, in

some way, bring about that "death of the soul," towards which, probably by reason of some earlier loss, and its own material constitution, it is naturally and constantly tending. I say again, we do not know and cannot know, what the soul really is, and what it may need with a view to the maintenance of its life.

One thing certainly must be clear. If the view here indicated be the correct one, if, unless we be "in Christ," as the New Testament puts it, and "unless we eat and drink of Him we have no life in us," then surely it is not difficult to see in what sense the law of the new life may take effect. The unbeliever reaps the result of his unbelief according to fixed and perfectly reasonable laws. The life and environments of a higher sphere are offered to him, the conditions are pointed out to him; he is expressly told that he cannot hope to fully understand now. But he is enjoined to exercise trust in the method proposed by One who knows his nature better than he knows it himself; he is asked to obey and to submit. He fails to obey, and as a consequence he remains amidst the lower conditions—he is constitutionally not fit for the higher. His soul is not in touch with that sphere of higher operations between which and the present state Christianity its institutions may very well be conceived to be the connecting link.

It will at any rate be admitted that this view furnishes us with a rational and intelligible conception of sacramental Christianity, and that it puts a fair and reasonable interpretation upon Christ's own words, as well as upon the practice and teaching of the Christian Church in all times.

J. GODFREY RAUPERT.

ART. V.—THE ENGLISH POPE.

Nicholas Breakspear (Adrian IV.), Englishman and Pope. By ALFRED H. TARLETON. London: Arthur L. Humphreys. 1896.

Pope Adrian IV.: An Historical Sketch. By RICHARD RABY. London: Richardson & Son. 1849.

Adrian IV. and Ireland. By the Very Rev. SYLVESTER MALONE, M.R.I.A., F.R.S.A.I. Dublin: Gill & Son. 1899.

“THE career of the only Englishman who has ever worn the Triple Crown* affords ample scope both for the picturesque and the scientific historian. There is no more striking illustration of the openings which the Mediæval Church gave to humble worth and ability than the life of the poor Hertfordshire lad who, leaving England almost penniless, came to re-organise the Scandinavian Church, to beard the mightiest monarch of Western Europe since Charles the Great, and himself to dispose of kingdoms.”†

These words of a non-Catholic writer seem to me worthily and fittingly to summarise the remarkable history of the only English Pope. The story of his life is one of which all English Catholics may well be proud, and it would seem but natural that it should be familiar to every Catholic child in this country. Strange to say, this does not seem to be the case. It may be doubted whether one out of a hundred of the children in our Catholic schools could tell, if asked, the name of the English Pope; and I suspect that but few of even our educated Catholics could

* To be quite accurate, this is a misnomer. The tiara in Adrian IV.'s time had not yet assumed the three crowns, as his portraits show.

† *Manchester Guardian*, December, 1896.

give any adequate account of his career. It is at least curious that what interest has been taken in Pope Adrian IV. by Englishmen has been chiefly on the part of non-Catholics. The largest and most elaborate biography of him is the sumptuous volume published within the last five years by a High Church layman* ; the article, "Adrian IV.," in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, was from the pen of the lately-deceased Bishop of London, Dr. Mandell Creighton. On our side, we have nothing to show but a small, popular historical sketch of little over a hundred pages, by Richard Raby, published as far back as 1849. It is true that in Ireland much more attention has been devoted to Pope Adrian ; but this is exclusively owing to the hot controversy concerning his much-disputed Bull to Henry II., and, indeed, the interest in the doings of the English Pope has been strictly limited to this one phase of his policy. It is not easy to account for the comparative neglect into which the memory of this really great Englishman and great Pope has fallen amongst us. It is certainly not the fault of ecclesiastical historians ; for all the great Continental writers on Church history, from Adrian's own time to our own, have done full justice to the greatness of this remarkable pontiff—one of the most remarkable who has ever occupied the See of Peter. It does not, therefore, appear to me to be altogether superfluous, even though nothing new be left to write about him, at least to condense in popular form a summary of what is to be found in the various writers above referred to, and in some other historical sources.

There is another reason why it seems desirable to make an attempt at popularising among our English Catholics a knowledge of the life of the English Pope. The story always appears to me one of the most essentially romantic and dramatic that has come down to us from the

* Mr. Tarleton's handsome quarto, with its fine illustrations and accumulation of material, is an indispensable book ; but at the same time it must be admitted that its *inaccuracy* of detail (spelling, especially Latin, dates, figures, quotations, etc.) is simply phenomenal, and most irritating to the reader. The present article is based chiefly on the three books mentioned at the head. There is also a *Memoir of the Life of Adrian IV.*, by E. Trollope, London, 1857. A good bibliography at the end of Tarleton.

Middle Ages. It is well-nigh the most striking commentary which history has preserved of the words of the Psalmist: "The Lord is high above all nations, and His glory above the heavens. Who is the Lord our God Who dwelleth on high, and looketh down on the low things in heaven and on earth? Raising up the needy from the earth, and lifting up the poor from the dung-hill, that He may place him with princes, with the princes of His people" (Psalm cxii. 4-8). More than this, it is a career which, as hinted in the quotation with which I began, contains a distinctly practical lesson for us to-day.

The life story of Nicholas Breakspeare always presents itself to me in the form of a real drama, whose successive acts rise on a scale of interest and grandeur worthy of the pen of a Shakespeare. For brevity's sake, as well as for the better order of the narrative, I will try and present the story in these successive acts.

I. THE POOR SCHOLAR.

The first act, then, opens in rural England in the very last year or years of the eleventh century:

"We find ourselves at the beginning of the reign of Henry I. Men just emerging from middle age were living who had fought in defence of Saxon England against the Conqueror, or who had helped in the Norman army to win for him this island kingdom. . . . The year 1100 may fairly be taken as marking the time when conquerors and conquered had commenced to settle down together. The rising generation could not remember the catastrophe of Hastings, and mixed unions were beginning to bear fruit in producing the ancestors of the [English] race of to-day. . . . Breakspear, therefore, as a boy, lived in a time of quietness between two stormy periods of history, the one before his time, the other after he had left the country."*

The scene is laid in the rich and beautiful country around and under the sway of the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Albans. Among the dependencies of the Abbey was the village of Abbots Langley, just north of Watford. According to tradition, Nicholas Breakspeare was born in this village. Through the kindness of Mr. T. Mewburn Crook, of the Manchester Municipal School of Art, I have obtained two drawings of the old house in this parish

* Tarleton, *Nicholas Breakspear*, pp. 21-23.

locally known as "Breakspeare's." In a letter dated June 17th, 1898, Mr. T. Armstrong (a local resident) writes as follows :

"The building on the outskirts of the hamlet of Bedmond, in the parish of Abbots Langley, which is called Brakespeare's, is held to be the place where Adrian IV. was born. It is known that he was born in the parish, and I think the tradition with regard to this particular spot may be accepted. The building is of brick, and is now divided into two or three cottage dwellings. It is not probable that any part of it is of the date of the Pope's birth, though portions of the interior seem to be older than the outside walls, which are comparatively modern. Parts of my own house in Abbots Langley are no doubt of great antiquity ; but the oldest of them as reconstructed are not earlier than Tudor times. Houses, like everything else, decay and fall to pieces, and often the old material is partially used in the re-construction. As I thought local tradition could be relied on, and that Nicholas Brakespeare was born in a house standing on the spot to which his name has been given, I had a very pretty water-colour made by a clever artist living in the neighbourhood, in which the group of houses and the surrounding landscape were represented, and this I sent to Rome to be placed, with the consent of the Pope, in that part of the Vatican where documents relating to the lives of his predecessors are preserved. It was presented by a friend of mine, a Monsignore, who told me that His Holiness was much pleased, and proposed to keep the drawing in his private apartment."

Although this house, on the spot where Nicholas, the son of Robert Breakspeare, was born, seems to be a somewhat substantial dwelling, and although there is evidence that down to the middle of the fifteenth century the Breakspeares were a decidedly respectable family, yet it is undoubted that Nicholas passed his boyhood in extreme poverty. His father, Robert, eventually became a lay-brother in the Monastery of St. Albans, whilst Nicholas was still a boy—according to some, after the death of his wife ; though another well-known account represents Adrian IV.'s mother as surviving that pontiff, and being in great indigence at the time of his death. Be this as it may, it appears certain that the lad Nicholas was himself for a time engaged in servile work at the Abbey, and that, in spite of his great talents, he was rejected by Abbot Richard, whether on account of his youth, or of his

poverty, or of his father's position, when he tried to gain admittance into the monastery with the hope of eventually becoming a monk. Bitterly disappointed, and in a state of utter destitution, the high-spirited and indomitable Hertfordshire lad set out on foot to seek his fortune in more congenial surroundings. Full of ardour for study, he turned his steps towards France.

"He worked his way probably through London and down the high road through Kent—that historic route which has been the main thoroughfare of so many travellers to and from the Metropolis—past Rochester and Canterbury to Dover, from whence he obtained a passage over the narrow seas, possibly in the very same year when the *Blanche Nef* was wrecked on the treacherous rocks off Barfleur, and the brilliant company surrounding Prince William, together with that unfortunate son of King Henry, were drowned."*

On his safe arrival in France, young Nicholas devoted himself with great ardour to study, at first in Paris, then the most famous European seat of learning.† But after a few years he quitted Paris, about 1125, and gradually worked and begged his way southwards across the Rhone to Arles, where he again frequented, with great diligence and success, the celebrated schools of that city. An interesting question here arises as to the connection of Nicholas during these *Wanderjahre* as a poor scholar with the Order of the Norbertines or Premonstratensians. I am indebted to the Right Rev. Abbot Geudens, C.R.P., of Corpus Christi Priory, for a very full statement of the Norbertine tradition on this subject. He has forwarded me a copy of the note which Abbot Georg Lienhardt of Roggenburg (Suabia) adds to his brief notice of Pope Adrian IV. in his *Auctarium Ephemeridum Præmonstratensium*, under the date September 1st. The following is a translation of the passage :

"That the Blessed Hadrian was once, at least for a time, an *alumnus* of our order, he himself testifies in a Bull prefixed to

* Tarleton, pp. 19-20.

† A chronicle of the Irish Monks at Ratisbon, quoted by Lanigan (Vol. I., p. 155), contains a tradition that one of Breakspeare's teachers in Paris was an Irish monk named Marianus, of whom he afterwards spoke with great affection when he had become Pope.

our statutes, where he thus speaks in commendation of our white institute : ' Mindful how your institute and order, *of which We were once an alumnus*, brilliant with abundant splendour of merits and fragrant with the grace of sanctity, hath extended its branches from sea to sea.' . . . Mention of this Bull is also made by Petrus Waghenare, *De Elogiis Sancti Norberti ejusque Ordinis* (p. 445), Ernestus Ruebner in his *Chronicon Gradiense* (cap. iv., p. 23), and other historians of our order, both ancient and modern. The authenticity of the Bull containing the above words was always held as quite certain and indisputable by the most illustrious annalist of our order,* a most perspicacious historian and skilled critic, in the third MS. volume of his annals, p. 247, who quotes in the margin Chrysostom Van de Sterre, Peter Waghenare, and Bernard a Sancto Leone, and draws the following conclusion as from certain premises : ' That Blessed Hadrian was originally a professed member of the Premonstratensian Order, and that the above-mentioned Pontiff, by the word *alumnus*, meant exactly what is understood by the term *professus*.' "

The learned writer goes on to show that Nicholas passed some years in France before his entry (to be mentioned later on) into the Monastery of St. Rufus, and argues at some length that in the interval he studied in some Norbertine monastery, and "saltem aliquando et aliquamdiu sub stipendiis Norbertinis militaverit." He further quotes again the annalist Hugo to the effect that the profession of Nicholas in the order, and his quitting it after his profession, was an old tradition of the order confirmed by "documents existing at Prague, Park, Furnes, Antwerp, and in Spain."† The great authority of Abbot Hugo‡ of course makes his opinion of unusual weight ; yet I must confess that so far as it is based upon the words of Pope Adrian's Bull prefixed to the statutes of the order, it does

* Abbot Charles Louis Hugo.

† " Beatum Hadrianum vere apud nostros professum et post emissam professionem inde egressum fuisse atque a predecessoribus veteris aevi acceptam esse traditionem quam exstantia Pragaе, Parigi, Furnis, Antverpiae, Hispaniae monumenta confirmant."

‡ Charles Louis Hugo (who died August 2nd, 1739) was Abbot of Etwahl, and afterwards Bishop of Ptolemais. He was historiographer to the Duke of Lorraine, and is considered as a most accurate and critical historian, well acquainted with his sources. "What he says," writes Abbot Geudens, "may be considered above criticism." By order of the General Chapter, in 1717, held under Claudius Lucas, all the ancient documents from the monasteries of the whole order were transmitted to him for the compilation of his annals."

not appear to me to be conclusive. The use of the word "alumnus," even accepting the Bull as genuine, can surely mean little more than that Nicholas was for a time a pupil in one of the houses of the Premonstratensians, probably indeed a poor scholar maintained by their hospitality or alms—a most likely supposition.* But if the tradition be really confirmed by other documents referred to by Abbot Hugo, and independent of the Bull, then the claim of the Norbertine writers would be substantiated. As far as I know, these documents have not been published; but Hugo, it must be admitted, writes as if he had seen them.

In any case, then, we are safe in concluding that during his wanderings as a *fahrender Schüler* in France, Nicholas was in all probability under the influence and actual care of the White Canons of St. Norbert, and thus was very likely deeply indebted to them for his subsequent fame as a scholar and success as a Churchman.

After a short stay at Arles, we next find Nicholas wending his way northward to Avignon, where he sought and obtained admission, at first in a menial position, in the Abbey of the Canons Regular of St. Rufus (Saint-Ruf), whose ruins are still visible near Avignon. These Canons Regular must not be confounded with the Canons Regular of St. Norbert, of whom we have been speaking; indeed, the Abbey of St. Rufus dates from a century before St. Norbert's own time. The order took its rise early in the eleventh century in a secession from the cathedral church of Avignon, which was served by canons living in common, but who had become relaxed. Bonanni (in his *Ordinum Religiosorum Catalogus*) gives A.D. 1000, and Hélyot (in his *Ordres Monastiques*) 1039, as the date of this event. St. Rufus became the mother house of an independent congregation of Canons Regular, which had many houses in France and other countries, and even sent canons out to Patras and other Eastern churches maintaining the Latin

* It is of some importance to note that St. Norbert founded his order at Prémontré only in 1120—about the very year of Nicholas's arrival in France—and that it received Papal confirmation only in 1126.

rite.* These Canons Regular no doubt followed the rule of St. Augustine, which was, of course, the rule also adopted by St. Norbert in the foundation of his Order of Prémontré in 1120—almost in the very year when Nicholas Breakspeare passed into France.

It would appear that the poor English scholar waited for two or three years in his humble capacity of a lay brother at the Abbey of St. Rufus, at the end of which time the canons, won by his docility, learning, and personal charms of character, finally admitted him to profession in their order. Thus, the rejected postulant of St. Albans finally, by his steadfast perseverance, industry, and steady determination reached the goal upon which his hopes had been fixed from boyhood. With this happy consummation, the first act of his dramatic life—that of the Poor Scholar—fittingly closes.

II. THE ABBOT.†

The great talents and sterling merits of the young English monk were not very long in leading to the first step of promotion in his rapid career. In 1137, on the death of Abbot William II., Nicholas Breakspeare was unanimously elected as his successor. But with this new dignity trials very soon came. It would appear that some relaxation had crept into the house, and that the firmness of the new abbot in correcting abuses very soon led the monks to repent of their election of the ex-lay brother to be their superior.

"But the man who had passed through the great lesson of learning to obey was now to show them that he had also learnt how to command ; if they thought that the modest, unassuming,

* I am indebted for these facts about the Abbey of St. Rufus to Miss Speakman, B.A., of the Victoria University, who adds : "The dress, too, as given by these authors, is different from the Norbertine, although both are white. The Canons of St. Rufus wear a sort of sash over one shoulder and tied at the opposite side, Scotch fashion." The Abbey of St. Rufus was destroyed by the Calvinists in 1562.

† In an anonymous article of the DUBLIN REVIEW for April, 1875, Nicholas Breakspeare is referred to as "O.S.B., Abbot of St. Alban's" (p. 258, n.). It would be difficult to compress more errors in a single phrase (except a recent statement of the *Times* newspaper that the only English Pope was Adrian VI., who lived in the reign of Henry VIII. !).

and compliant brother was going to rule them with a gentle hand, and tolerate any slackness in the hard duties imposed on them by their solemn vows, they were mistaken. Breakspeare showed immediately that power of command which comes at once when a man of strong will, rigid principle, and knowledge of mankind is suddenly placed in a position of responsibility. The more heavy that responsibility is, the better do such men rise to it. The easy ways into which the monks had gradually drifted were stopped; the rigid rules of St. Augustine put in force; and, by degrees, those men who had been unanimous in placing him over their abbey began to murmur among themselves.”*

The consequence was a serious mutiny in the monastery, which culminated in two successive appeals to Rome, carried by Abbot Breakspeare himself and a deputation of the hostile monks to present their case against him. The pontiff at the time was the celebrated Eugenius III., the disciple and favourite spiritual son of the great St. Bernard, who, to his own dismay, had just been thrust into the sublime office from the position of a humble monk. At the first deputation, the Pope, with his wonted tact, succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the abbot and his unruly subjects, and the litigants returned home reconciled to each other. But very shortly—probably within a year—the disaffection broke out worse than ever. The second appeal to the Holy See, apparently in 1146, had a very different ending. The Pope answered the complaints of the monks with some severity. “I know, brethren, where the seat of Satan lieth; I know what has stirred up this tempest among you. Depart; choose for yourselves one with whom you can be, or rather are minded to be, at peace; for this one shall no longer be a burden to you.” The canons of St. Rufus departed, and Pope Eugenius retained the ex-abbot at his own court. The startling and dramatic sequel is eloquent testimony to the keen penetration of character and promptitude of action of the Cistercian Pope; for almost immediately he raised Nicholas at one bound to well-nigh the highest dignity which it was in his power to bestow, creating him straightway one of the six

* Tarleton, p. 40.

cardinal-bishops,* with the suburbican title of Bishop of Albano.

This sudden elevation of the once poor and obscure scholar and lay brother to a rank only second to that of the Pope himself, was sufficient to have turned a head less strong than that of Nicholas. It is not a little remarkable to observe how, in the providence of God, the rejection of the penniless postulant by the Abbot of St. Albans led to his becoming himself Abbot of the Canons Regular at Avignon; and the casting-off of the English abbot by his unruly subjects led at once to his creation as cardinal and bishop. With this striking change of fortune ends the chapter of Nicholas's life as monk and abbot.

III. THE CARDINAL LEGATE.

From his creation as cardinal in 1146 to the year 1152 we know practically nothing of Breakspeare's life. Mr. Tarleton surmises, not indeed without some probability, though I fancy with little or no evidence, that Cardinal Breakspeare may have accompanied Pope Eugenius III. to Paris in 1147, when the Pope went to give the cross to King Louis VII. on the eve of the second crusade. Be this as it may, in the year 1152 Nicholas was called upon to execute the first great act of ecclesiastical statesmanship for which his after career was to be so famous. In that year Eugenius III. appointed him Apostolic Legate to the three Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Whatever Scandinavian history we open, we shall find the name of Nicholas Breakspeare written large in the annals of those Norse kingdoms. The business for which the Legate was despatched to the far north was connected with the ecclesiastical government of the three kingdoms, which up to 1102 had all been subject to the Metropolitan See of Hamburg. In that year Pope Paschal II., after long negotiations, had freed the Scandinavian countries from their subjection to Hamburg, and

* Nicholas Breakspeare was thus the second English Cardinal. The first had been Robert Pulleyn, Archdeacon of Rochester, created by Lucius II. in 1144. He died in 1150. Cardinal Vaughan is the thirty-sixth English Cardinal in succession.

erected the Metropolitan See of Lund in Denmark. But this arrangement not unnaturally led to some jealousy between the three kingdoms, which, by the middle of the twelfth century, had culminated in a strong movement for ecclesiastical home rule, perhaps stimulated by the action of Eugenius III. in granting Ireland its four archiepiscopal sees just before. Ambassadors from the Kings of Sweden and Norway arrived in Rome, begging for the erection of such metropolitan sees in their countries. It was in reply to this request that Breakspeare was sent on his famous legation. On this journey he passed through England,* from the east coast of which he sailed for Norway, where he landed on July 19th, 1152. On his arrival, the Cardinal Legate found himself face to face with a much more extensive and serious task than that of merely settling the ecclesiastical government of the country. He found the latter in a state of great political confusion, the Royal power being divided between the three sons of the murdered King Harald—Sigurd, Inge (surnamed Crookback), and Eystein; of whom only Inge seems to have been a really honourable man. The crimes of the other two had brought about a state of civil war, and the strong-minded English Cardinal, before turning his attention to ecclesiastical affairs, insisted upon settling these internecine feuds. His strong and wise efforts were crowned with success. He inflicted canonical censures on the two criminal princes, and finally succeeded in restoring peace to the country. His next step was to erect a metropolitan see for Norway, which he fixed at Nidaros (the modern Trondhjem), in the cathedral of which city repose the bones of King St. Olaf. He created John, Bishop of Stavanger, Metropolitan, and conferred upon him the pallium, subjecting to the jurisdiction of the new province not only Norway, but also Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands, the Orkneys, the Shetlands, the Hebrides, and

* Mr. Tarleton's attempt (pp. 55, 56) to trace the footsteps of his hero during his brief visit to his native country by a few place names containing that of Breakspeare in two or three counties, appears to me preposterous. There is surely a much more obvious and simple explanation for the existence of the name, which need not have any direct connection with Pope Adrian.

the Isle of Man, detaching the last three from the Province of York. But his activity did not end here. He thoroughly reformed the Norwegian Church, swept it of abuses and of many heathen practices which had been allowed to creep in. He also introduced the payment of Peter's Pence.

At the request of the Norwegian people, Cardinal Breakspeare even introduced many civil reforms, secured the public peace by causing a law to be passed forbidding the carrying of arms by private persons, and even limiting the king's bodyguard to twelve. Great was the gratitude of the Norse people. Their national historian, Snorro, relates that no foreigner ever came to Norway who was so honoured, or whose memory is so cherished, as Nicholas Breakspeare, and that after his death he was honoured by the nation as a saint. It is pleasing to add that during his brief pontificate Adrian maintained the most friendly relations with Norway, and sent thither English architects and artists to build the Cathedral of Hammer, which see he had founded.

From Norway Nicholas departed, amid the lamentations of the people, for Sweden, where he was received with all honour, but where he found himself face to face with difficulties which taxed all his diplomacy. The two rival provinces of Sweden and Gothland both contended for the honour of the archiepiscopal see, and in spite of the synod of Linköping, which he summoned, no agreement could be come to. Wisely reserving his own decision, which was to give Sweden no metropolitan see at all, the Cardinal now passed on to Denmark. Here, again, he had to employ no little diplomacy, for the Archbishop of Lund, Eskil, was not unnaturally aggrieved at the detachment from his jurisdiction of the Province of Norway, though he received the Legate with all honour and pomp. Breakspeare propitiated the Archbishop by confirming him in the title of Primate of all Sweden, and granting him the right of consecrating and investing with the pallium the new Archbishops of Sweden, whenever the affairs of that Church should be settled. He might now have looked upon his long and difficult mission as successfully accom-

plished, but he was once more called upon to intervene in a serious international dispute between Sweden and Denmark, caused by the wicked conduct of Johan, son of King Sverker of Sweden. The Cardinal used all his influence to avert the threatened war between the two countries, giving the wisest advice to the Danish king. His efforts, however, were in vain, but the disastrous results of the ensuing war abundantly justified the wisdom of his counsels.

During its progress, the Cardinal Legate left Scandinavia and returned to Rome. Among the qualifications which had so eminently fitted him for his Scandinavian legation, over and above his natural talents and diplomatic skill, we must probably reckon also his linguistic attainments, including apparently a knowledge of the Scandinavian languages; for among the literary works attributed to him by Pagi are said to have been not only an account of his mission to the North (*De Legatione Sua*), but also catechisms of Christian doctrine for the Swedes and Norwegians. All these works are unfortunately lost.

IV. THE SOVEREIGN OF ROME.

Cardinal Breakspeare, on his return to the Eternal City in the early part of 1154, found his great friend and patron, Pope Eugenius III., dead, and Anastasius IV., already in his ninetieth year, reigning in his place. On December 2nd of the same year the aged Pontiff died, after a brief reign of seventeen months. The day after his death the cardinals met in conclave at St. Peter's, and immediately, with unanimous voice, elected as his successor the English Cardinal, who took the name of Adrian IV. He tried to refuse the office, but clergy and laity alike, not heeding his remonstrances, cried out: "*Papam Adrianum a Deo electum!*"—a striking testimony to the unanimity of the choice.

"So, at last, the humble Englishman, the poor student, the modest monk, abbot, bishop, cardinal, and missionary was called to occupy the position of the greatest and most fearful responsibility upon the earth of those days. What a moment! What a life! Thirty years from poverty to Pope. And what a

vista opened out before him ! At this age, he might reasonably hope for twenty or thirty years of power, and if he lived as long as his predecessor, forty years."*

Such was the beginning of one of the most remarkable pontificates in the history of the Church, a pontificate remarkable not only for the great and stirring events which were crowded into it, but also for its brevity, lasting as it did but four years and nine months,

"He could not tell that within five short years he would be called into the presence of the Master whom he had just been chosen to represent on earth ; but if he had known this, and had determined to crowd into that short time all the stirring events and great deeds that he could wish for, he could not have made it fuller than it actually proved to be."†

From the moment of his election to that of his death, Pope Adrian was called upon to grapple with some of the most difficult and momentous questions of both home and foreign policy that have ever fallen to the lot of a pontiff to meet. No wonder that he afterwards said to his friend, John of Salisbury, that "the tiara was splendid because it burnt with fire."‡

"At the moment Adrian IV. took his seat behind the helm of Peter's bark, the winds and waves raged furiously against her, nor ceased to do so during the whole time that he steered her course. That time, though short, was yet long enough to prove him a skilful and fearless pilot—as much so as the very foremost of his predecessors or successors, who have acquired greater fame than he, simply because a more protracted term of office enabled them to carry out to completer results than he could do designs in no wise loftier than Adrian's ; and, in so doing, to unveil before the world more fully than was permitted to him characters not therefore nobler or more richly endowed than his."||

The new Pope found his first troubles already awaiting him in the city of which he was not only bishop, but also temporal sovereign. These troubles, caused by the agitation of the Republican party in Rome, headed by the turbulent Arnaldo da Brescia, the disciple of Abelard, had raged fiercely under the pontificate of Eugenius III., the

* Tarleton, pp. 65, 66.

† Ibid., p. 66.

‡ *Polycraticus*, viii. 23.

|| Raby, p. 17.

pupil of St. Bernard. Though somewhat lulled during the brief and peaceful pontificate of Anastasius, they broke out with fresh violence on the election of Adrian. The Pope was met at his accession by a peremptory demand of the Senate, prompted by Arnaldo, to renounce once for all his rights of temporal government, and to recognise the authority of the Roman Republic. They had strangely miscalculated the character and temper of the new ruler. The demand was sternly rejected by the unflinching Pope. Arnaldo himself hastened to Rome, and the mob broke out into open disorder and violence, culminating in a murderous attack on Cardinal Gerard in the Via Sacra. Adrian's action at this critical moment was prompt and decisive. From Anagni, to which he had retired, he issued a stern decree, placing Rome under an interdict. Never before in history had this most dreaded weapon of spiritual chastisement been applied to the Eternal City: no wonder it was received with consternation.

"No calamity which could befall a city in those times—and they were days when calamity had full meaning, days of the storm and sack, of the plague and the famine—could be more dreaded than that of interdict."*

I need not repeat here the description of the effects of an interdict. And if this dread censure produced such an impression even in England in the days of King John, what must have been its effect in the very centre of Christendom itself? To add to its horrors, the interdict began on Palm Sunday, and lasted during Holy Week, thus seriously affecting not only the spiritual, but also the temporal interests of the Roman people, to whom Easter has always been a season of great profits, owing to the number of pilgrims flocking to their city. Adrian's strong action was completely successful. After some ineffectual parleying, he gained all that he demanded: the abrogation of the Republic, the banishment of Arnaldo, and the absolute submission of Senate and citizens to their lawful sovereign the Pope. Then, and only then, did the latter return to his city, which, we are told, he entered in triumph amid the joyful acclamations of his people; and in his

* Tarleton, p. 98.

cathedral of St. John Lateran he celebrated his coronation with great pomp and jubilee.

V. THE CHAMPION OF THE CHURCH.

At the very time that Adrian was engaged in this stern contest with his disaffected subjects, a still more serious danger was hanging over Italy and the Papal See. This was the impending invasion of Frederic Barbarossa, "the mightiest monarch of Western Europe since Charles the Great." The motives which led the young and mighty Emperor to undertake this expedition were to reassert the Imperial claims over Italy which he professed to have inherited from Charlemagne, and to confirm them by his coronation in Rome; and also, no doubt, to check the growing spirit of freedom which was already beginning to show itself, especially among the Lombard cities of Northern Italy. To complicate the situation, Arnaldo and the Roman Republic had already sent a letter to Frederic, inviting him to come and receive the Imperial crown from the Senate; but, fortunately for the Holy See, the invitation was worded in such bombastic and insolent terms that the Emperor indignantly rejected them.

About the very time of Adrian's election Frederic, with his large army, was crossing the Alps and encamped at Roncaglia, where he held a great Diet to receive the homage of his Italian feudatories. A very few days after Adrian's coronation in the Lateran, Frederic received the Iron Crown in the church of Pavia. All Lombardy was now in his power, and the last city to resist, Tortona, fell after a gallant struggle. The great Emperor and his victorious army was already entering the Campagna. It was a moment of painful doubt and suspense. The new Pope might well have addressed the stern monarch in the words of the King of Israel's messenger to Jehu, as he approached at the head of his troops: "Thus saith the King: Is there peace?" (4 Kings ix. 19).

It was fortunate for the Pope that Frederic had set his heart on being crowned, like Charlemagne, by the hands of the Pontiff himself. Herein the quick glance of the diplomatic Adrian saw the advantage which he undoubtedly

held in treating with the irresistible Emperor on something like equal terms.

At the same time that Frederic sent envoys to Rome to ask for his solemn coronation in St. Peter's by the Pope's hand, Adrian had despatched three cardinals to meet Frederic in order to ascertain his intentions, and also to induce him to aid in seizing Arnaldo of Brescia, who was engaged in his old game of stirring up disaffection against the Holy See in the Campagna. On the arrival of the two archbishops who were Frederic's envoys, Adrian took the bold and firm stand of declining to consider the Imperial proposals until he should have received a reply to his own demands and an assurance that the Emperor was approaching with friendly intentions. This strong attitude met with success. The Papal Legates soon ascertained that the Emperor was far from supporting Arnaldo and his followers against the authority of the Holy See ; and, indeed, was so much incensed against the demagogue, that he was quite willing to procure his seizure, which was speedily effected.

Before passing on, we must say a word about the well-known fate of this unfortunate man. Arnaldo, on being delivered up to the Papal authorities, was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, with the intention, it is said, of being ultimately tried before Frederic himself, on the latter's arrival in Rome. But the Prefect of Rome, Peter, fearful of the great danger to which the presence in a city seething with sedition of so formidable a prisoner exposed the public peace, of his own authority, and in the absence of both Pope and Emperor, caused the unhappy man to be led out on the morning of June 18th, 1155, and executed by the cruel and barbarous death of burning at the stake before the Porta del Popolo. Mr. Tarleton's comment on this tragic end of the famous demagogue seems to me just and equitable :

“ In judging the act of execution we must be careful not to measure the sentiments of those days by the moral standard of our own, and Arnold's death seems to have been the only course left to those responsible to the Pope for the order of the city. On the other hand, we must apply some moral standard to acts

like this, and not allow the consideration of difference in custom and thought to weigh against the sentiment of justice. Rarely, if ever, in history is there an occasion when the execution of a man without trial can be excused."*

Meanwhile, Adrian still displayed great caution in his preliminary negotiations with the Emperor. He sent word to the latter at Sutri that before the favour asked was granted, Frederic would have to take an oath on the Gospels and on the Cross before the Papal envoys, to protect the Pope and Cardinals against aggression, to uphold the Papal dignity, and not to usurp any of its functions. In return, the Pope promised to go and meet the Emperor and escort him in state to Rome for his coronation. The haughty Frederic complied, and took the oath with great solemnity.

On the following day, June 9th, 1155, took place the historic scene in the camp at Sutri which I am about to describe. Adrian IV., with all his retinue of cardinals and other attendants, advanced in state from his castle at Nepi, where he had been waiting, the Pope riding, according to custom, upon a white palfrey. A splendid deputation of German princes and bishops received him and conducted him to the Imperial tent. The gigantic Emperor advanced to welcome the Pontiff. And now occurred that dramatic incident, so often described in history, which to me has always appeared to be the most thrilling episode in the career of the English Pope. It was an old tradition, generally accepted in those ages of faith, that a king, meeting the Pontiff when mounted, must not only assist him to dismount, but, as a sign of supreme veneration, must hold his stirrup as he did so. This right of the Pope to homage was acknowledged by the old German legislation as expressly stated in the two great codes of national law, the *Schwabenspiegel*† and the *Sach-*

* Tarleton, pp. 106, 107.

† "Der Papst erhält die beiden Schwerter von Gott; für sich behält er das geistliche Schwert, das weltliche Schwert übergibt er dem Kaiser, und wenn er seinen weissen Zeller besteigt, muss ihm der Kaiser den Zügel halten" (Artt. 9 and 10 of preface).

senspiegel,* and had been observed by the Emperor Lothair towards Pope Innocent II. The proud Hohenstauffen, however, was by no means in a mood to submit to the humiliation which he felt to be involved in performing the ceremony before all his barons and troops, and, though he bowed low and offered to assist the Pontiff to dismount, he abstained from holding the stirrup. The situation had all at once become acute: it was a moment of crisis—the two strongest men in Europe, the English Pope and the German Kaiser face to face, and a momentous question of privilege, behind which great issues were at stake, to be settled between them. Both potentates were unyielding. Adrian, unflinching before the mighty warrior king, calmly kept his seat and refused to dismount until the due act of homage had been rendered. Frederic was angrily obdurate. Already the German soldiery were beginning to murmur aloud, and we are told that the cardinals who formed the Papal suite were so terrified at the ominous state of things that they promptly fled, leaving the Pope alone to confront the storm. Yet Adrian retained all his cool courage, and with great dignity dismounted himself and allowed the Emperor to conduct him to the seat prepared for him. On this he sat and allowed Frederic to kneel and kiss his feet; but when the Emperor arose to receive in return the kiss of peace, Adrian calmly but firmly declined to give it, declaring that until the homage had been paid to him in full, he would withhold his blessing and decline to crown the Emperor. In vain the latter argued the question with great vehemence and every kind of argument. Adrian, feeling that he stood forth as the champion of the Holy See in a matter which, trivial as it may seem to us now, yet was in those days but a symbol of great and momentous principles of international law lying behind, remained inflexible and fearless, and, finally, quitting the Imperial camp, returned unmolested to Nepi. He had proved the stronger man of the two.

* "Dem Papst ist auch gesetzt dass er zu gewisser Zeit auf einem weissen Pferde reiten mag, da ihm dann der Kaiser den Steigbügel halten soll, damit der Sattel sich nicht wende" (p. 17, ed. Gärtner, Leipzig, 1732).

After his departure Frederic, whose great ambition, as we have seen, was to be crowned by the Pope in Rome, suffered himself to be persuaded by his entourage to yield to the Pontiff's demands. On June 11th he followed the Pope to Nepi. Adrian rode forth once more to meet him, and as he approached, the haughty Barbarossa, advancing on foot, took hold of the Pope's stirrup, and helped him to alight. The Pope then embraced the Emperor and gave him the kiss of peace, amidst the plaudits of all the spectators. So had Adrian conquered.

"In requiring Frederic Barbarossa to pay him the typical homage of holding his stirrup, Adrian did plainly nothing but what was entirely in accordance with the spirit of the age, and, at the same time, with traditional usage as then received by Christian princes. But Frederic did do what was contrary to both in his refusal; and that, too, while professing to be imbued with the very faith out of which the homage in question sprang. Thus, it is no wonder that Adrian should view such an inconsistency as most inauspicious for the liberties of the Church—with which those of society were then so closely bound up—and should therefore feel it imperative to pursue a line of conduct which at first glance may appear so arrogantly exacting; but which, found on closer examination to have involved the assertion of the most sacred interests against a man who was known to respect none in promotion of his ends, assumes a character calculated rather to conciliate our approval than to confirm our censure."*

The Emperor and the Pope, now reconciled, entered Rome side by side in triumph, and on June 18th Frederic was solemnly crowned in St. Peter's by Adrian, amidst a scene of great splendour and rejoicing. But these festivities were held in the midst of a city teeming with disaffection, soon to break out into open violence. Mutual exasperation existed between the Emperor and the Senate. The insolent messages of the latter had been rejected with scorn by Frederic, who had occupied the Leonine city with his troops. Immediately after the coronation a very serious riot broke out in the city, and Frederic's troops, hard pressed, had to fight all day long for their very lives. After a desperate battle, Frederic was victorious, the

* Raby, pp. 47, 48.

Romans suffering severely in both killed and prisoners ; and, but for the intervention of the Pope, summary vengeance would have been executed upon the latter by the Imperial forces. But, in spite of his triumph, Frederic felt himself in a not very secure position. Not merely the ill-restrained hostility of the Roman citizens, but the difficulty of obtaining food for his large army, owing to the animosity of the peasantry and the oppressive heats of June, were sufficient reasons to make him hasten his departure northwards. At Tivoli, Pope and Emperor separated with mutual expressions of good-will, though the peace which had been made between the two powers was rather of a hollow kind. Frederic, forced by the circumstances of his position, rapidly marched northward, "not so much gratified by the acquisition of the Imperial crown, as embittered by what he had gone through in the pursuit of it, and resolved not to delay longer than he could help a second invasion of Italy, which should compensate the mishaps and mortifications of the first."*

So ended the first round in the mighty struggle between Empire and Papacy—the "Hundred Years' War," as Alzog styles it. And it must be admitted that, on the whole, Adrian had had the best of the contest with the first and greatest of the Hohenstauffens.

Frederic's departure left the much-tried Pontiff no single moment of peace or rest. Already was he involved in yet another difficult and dangerous contest with the Norman King William of Sicily. The feud between the Norman conquerors of Sicily and the Holy See had been of long standing, the pontiffs claiming feudal overlordship over all Southern Italy as inheritors of the rights of the Western Empire, and this had led to frequent serious wars in preceding pontificates. Just one year before Adrian IV. was crowned Pope, William II. caused himself to be crowned King of Sicily at Palermo without obtaining previously the papal sanction (Easter Day, 1154). On Adrian's accession, William sent him the customary congratulations ; but Adrian was not the man to brook any

* Raby, p. 54.

diminution of the traditional rights of the office which he now held, and he promptly declined to recognise William's kingly title. An invasion of Southern Italy and devastation of parts of the papal territories was William's reply, at the very same time that Frederic Barbarossa was advancing southward in his quest of the Imperial crown. It would take too long to narrate the long and varied fortunes of this contest between the Pope and the Sicilian King, complicated as it was by the secret plotting of the Greek Emperor, who sought to turn matters to his own profit. Adrian took the strong step of excommunicating William, and, though the latter at first paid little heed to the much-dreaded censure, yet the offer of the Greek Emperor to form an alliance with the Pope against him, alarmed him so much that he begged for release from the sentence, and offered to do the required homage to the Pontiff for his kingdom of Sicily.

Unfortunately, Adrian's perplexity was increased by a difference among his own cardinals, the German party among them strongly opposing any compromise with the Sicilian monarch. They prevailed, and the war went on. The tide of success turned strongly in William's favour, whose successes at Brindisi and Bari were marked with a ferocious cruelty that struck terror in his opponents. By May, 1156, we find the Pope almost besieged in Benevento and cut off from Rome by the victorious and ruthless Sicilian King. Adrian now negotiated once more with equal skill and firmness, and the result was a fairly satisfactory peace. The King, with great solemnity, did homage and swore fealty to Adrian as his overlord for Sicily and the various principalities in South Italy, promising to defend him against his enemies, and to pay a yearly tribute for three of the duchies. In turn, the Pope relieved William of the excommunication and confirmed him in the feoff of his kingdom, but also conceded to him very large rights of ecclesiastical patronage and other extraordinary regal privileges with regard to the Church in Sicily, which, we may be sure, nothing but the stern pressure of circumstances could have induced so good a Churchman as Adrian to yield to the secular power.

So ended the long and dangerous feud with the Sicilian King. The following winter, 1156-7, Adrian spent quietly in Viterbo, the first and last period of calm peace during his stormy pontificate. But for the troubles of the two following years there is every reason to believe that the great Pontiff would have taken in hand a work which is still, after so many centuries, one of the favourite pre-occupations of Leo XIII.—the reunion of the Western and the Eastern Churches. He corresponded with the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Byzantine Emperor, and Bishop Basil of Thessalonica, on the subject, and also received a deputation of several Greek bishops to solicit his protection against certain encroachments of the Knights Hospitallers. Unfortunately, the troubles of the last years of his reign put an end to any hopes of furthering the work he had so much at heart.

V. THE LORD OF THE ISLES.

We must here say something about Pope Adrian's relations, as Pontiff, with his own native country.

Immediately on Adrian's election, King Henry II. of England, who had acceded to the throne almost at the same time,* sent a deputation consisting of the Abbot of St. Albans and three Norman bishops to offer his congratulations to the English Pontiff. They carried many rich gifts, including three mitres and some beautiful sandals "worked by Christina, Prioress of Markgate." The old Chronicler† tells us that Adrian refused all the presents except the mitres and sandals, good-humouredly remarking that he must refuse the Abbot's gifts, because the monks of St. Albans had refused to accept him when, as a boy, he had offered himself at their gates. The witty Abbot readily replied that the rejection must have been God's will, as He had destined the postulant for a far more exalted station. That Adrian really preserved no resentment is shown by his reply to the Abbot, bidding him ask for what favour he wanted, and adding: "You know that

* October 25th, 1154; Adrian's election, December 3rd of same year.

† Chronicon Monast. S. Albani.

the Bishop of Albano could never refuse anything to St. Albans."

The envoys also presented to Adrian a letter from Henry II. It is difficult to read this rather preposterous document (preserved by Peter of Blois) without a smile. The Plantagenet King, after warm congratulations and expressions of joy upon Adrian's elevation, proceeds to lecture the Pope in somewhat paternal fashion as to his future government of the Church, and to offer him advice as to his choice of cardinals and holders of ecclesiastical benefices. The advice given is doubtless excellent; but it reads rather oddly from one who was soon to become the persecutor of the Church in his own kingdom, and to cause the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

In his first creation of cardinals, which occurred the following year (December, 1155), Adrian raised to the dignity of Cardinal Deacon his nephew and secretary, Boso Breakspeare,* formerly a Benedictine monk of St. Albans. One of the three mediæval lives of the Pope, published by Muratori, is held by Watterich and others to be from Boso's pen. This is, however, doubtful.†

But the Englishman who has left us most information about Pope Adrian was his intimate and familiar friend, John of Salisbury. This celebrated English churchman, once a pupil of Abelard, and in later life Bishop of Chartres, spent a good deal of time with Pope Adrian during the latter's brief pontificate. He has left us, in both his *Polycraticus* and his *Metalogicus*, abundant and most interesting materials concerning the English Pope, which not only contain valuable information, but give us a thorough insight into his frank and straightforward character, his common-sense, and his real humility amid all the splendours of his exalted office. In the long and confidential conversations which John reports, the latter ecclesiastic spoke to the Pope with a freedom and openness in the way of frank criticism that are rather astonishing.

* Boso was promoted cardinal-priest under the next Pope, Alexander III. He played a part of some prominence in Rome, and died about 1181.

† It is generally held to be by Cardinal Nicholas of Aragon (c. 1350). The life by Boso is probably lost.

But this criticism, and even blame, the Pontiff seems not only to have taken with humility, but even to have invited. Again, he spoke frequently in a truly touching manner of the troubles and burdens of his high office :

"The office of Pope, he assured me, was a thorny one, and beset on all sides by sharp pricks. Indeed, the burden of it would weigh down the strongest man and grind him to the earth. . . . He wished that he had never left his native land of England, or at least had lived his life quietly in the cloister of St. Rufus, rather than have entered on such a narrow path ; but he dared not refuse, since it was the Lord's bidding. . . . 'It seemed once,' he said, 'as if God was constantly beating me and stretching me out, as with a hammer on an anvil ; now I pray Him to aid me with this burden which He has placed on my shoulders, for I find it unbearable.' " *

After what we have heard of the troubles and worries of his stormy pontificate, we should not be surprised at this lament of Pope Adrian.

But the most famous affair in which the English Pope and the English King were brought into relation was that of the so-called Bull *Laudabiliter*, with reference to the lordship of Ireland. It would be quite impossible for me to treat at length this *cause célèbre*. I should require to write an entire article in order to treat it at all satisfactorily. Volumes have been written upon it, and even angry controversy has raged around it. Every point connected with it has been hotly denied and as hotly defended. Let me very briefly indicate merely the state of the controversy. And first of all I must dispel a very popular delusion on the subject. It is commonly enough supposed that Adrian issued a Bull giving Ireland to Henry II., and that on the strength of this document Henry straightway invaded and conquered the sister island. This is quite an incorrect statement. What history does record is as follows.

John of Salisbury writes, in the concluding chapter of his *Metalogicus* :

"At my request [Adrian] granted to the illustrious King of the English, Ireland, to be held by hereditary right, as his letter testifies to this day. For all the islands by ancient right are said to 'belong' to the Roman Church by virtue of the donation of Constantine, who founded and endowed it. He also sent by

* *Polycraticus*, lviii., c. 23 (translated by Tarleton, pp. 151, 152).

me a gold ring adorned with a splendid emerald, whereby an investiture should be made of the right to govern Ireland; and the said ring was ordered to be kept in the public archives of the Court."

The actual text of the letter herein referred to is professed to be given by Giraldus Cambrensis in three different works of his (*Expugnata Hibernia*, ii. 5; *De Rebus a se Gestis*, 10; and *De Instructione Principis*); also in several English chroniclers (Ralph de Diceto, Roger Wendover, Matthew Paris), from which sources it has been taken over into both the Annals of Baronius and the Roman *Bullarium*. It seems to have been accepted unhesitatingly as genuine in Ireland and England as elsewhere. But, in course of time, the controversy has arisen as to whether the supposed Bull is not, after all, a forgery; and even the very categorical statement of John of Salisbury a forged addition to his real work.

There is evidence to show that, although in 1315 the princes and people of Ireland, in a remonstrance to Pope John XXII., mention the fact of Adrian's granting the lordship of Ireland to Henry II. (*dominium contulit*), yet so early as 1325 doubts really existed in Ireland upon the subject, as shown in a letter of the Lord Justiciary and Royal Council of Ireland to the Pope. But, with that exception, no trace of doubt or denial is found until the year 1615, when Father White, S.J., in his *Apologia pro Hibernia*, and the learned Archdeacon Lynch, in his *Cambrensis Eversus*, both attacking the veracity of Gerald the Welshman, maintained the new theory of the forgery of Adrian's letter. Since then the controversy has continued. Eminent names can be cited on both sides. To be brief, it must suffice to give the following table of the chief subsequent writers for and against the authority of the Bull at home and abroad on either side of the controversy:

AGAINST THE AUTHENTICITY.

- 1750 MacGeoghegan (Paris).
- 1864 Damberger (in *Der Katholik*).
- 1872 Card. Moran (in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*).

FOR THE AUTHENTICITY.

- Lingard (*Hist. of Eng.*).
- Lanigan (*Ecl. Hist. of Ireland*).
- 1849 Kelly (Editor of White and Lynch).

- 1882 *Analecta Juris Pontificii*.
 1883 Abbot Gasquet, O.S.B.
 (DUBLIN REVIEW, July
 and October).
 1885 Jungmann (*Dissertationes
 Selecte*, tom. V.).
 1890 Bellesheim (*Geschichte der
 Kirche Irlands*).
 1891 Fr. Morris, of Oratory
 (*Ireland and St. Patrick*).
 1892 von Pflugck - Harttung
 (in *Zeitschrift für Kirch-
 engeschichte*).
 1898 L. Ginnell (in *New Ireland
 Review*, also *Doubtful
 Grant of Ireland*).
 1884 and 1899 Rev. Sylvester
 Malone (in DUBLIN
 REVIEW, and *Pope
 Adrian IV. and Ire-
 land*).
 Pfulf, S.J. (in *Stimmen aus
 Maria Laach*, xxxvii.).
 1893 Miss Kate Norgate (in
 *English Historical Re-
 view*, Vol. VIII.).
 Bishop M. Creighton.
 1896 Tarleton (*Nicholas Break-
 spear*).

In face of such a divergence of eminent names, it may seem rash indeed in an amateur to pronounce an opinion either way. I can only say that having very carefully read all that I could procure on both sides, I have become convinced that the most satisfactory conclusions have been reached by three of the writers just named—viz., Miss Norgate, Mr. Tarleton, and Father Malone. The extremely judicial summary of the controversy by the first-named writer in the pages of the *English Historical Review* has specially impressed me. To my mind, these writers have succeeded in establishing satisfactorily (1) the authenticity of the concluding passage of the *Metalogicus* of John of Salisbury; (2) the genuineness of the letter *Laudabiliter* as given by Gerald and others. I admit that some difficulties yet remain, such as certain differences in several texts of the Bull, and the somewhat mysterious neglect of Henry to use it when obtained. But in spite of such obscurities, I am disposed to decide in favour of the traditional story.

According to this, then, Henry II. applied to Adrian by means of John of Salisbury to obtain papal approval for an expedition into Ireland in order to put an end to prevalent lawlessness in Church and State, "to root out crime and wickedness, to defend and preserve the rights of the

Church,"* with an undertaking also to establish an annual tribute of Peter's Pence. It is clear that Henry must have impressed the Pope with a shocking idea of the state of things in Ireland to draw from him the approval of his projected expedition and a command to the people of Ireland to receive and obey him as their liege lord. It is further to be noted that in granting this approval, Adrian expressly bases his right so to do upon the overlordship of all Christian islands appertaining to the Holy See in virtue of the supposed "donation of Constantine"—a right generally acknowledged and widely acted upon in those days.

Now, it is to be observed that this privilege of Adrian IV. *was never put into use* by Henry II. It appears to have been laid aside in the archives of Winchester, together with the emerald ring sent by Adrian—just as his predecessor, Alexander II., had sent a "ring of great price" to William of Normandy when blessing his expedition into England in 1066. It was not until 1171, twelve years after Adrian's death, that Henry II. invaded Ireland, and even then with no reference to that Pope's letter, but in consequence of the series of events which began with the outrage inflicted upon O'Rourke, King of Breiffny, by MacMurrough, King of Leinster, and the subsequent interference of Robert Strongbow, Earl of Striguil. And, in order to obtain sanction for his proceedings in Ireland, Henry applied for and obtained other letters from Pope Alexander III., couched in pretty much the same strain, though without reference to those of Adrian, which became literally a dead letter.†

It is evident that the question of the authenticity or otherwise of Adrian's letter is quite distinct from that of

* "Ad subdendum illum populum legibus et vitiorum plantaria inde extripanda. . . . Pro dilatandis Ecclesiæ terminis, pro vitiorum restringendis decursu, pro corrigendis moribus et virtutibus inserendis, pro Christianæ religionis augmento."

† "Hiberniam et omnes insulas quibus Sol justitiæ Christus illuxit . . . ad jus b. Petri et Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ non est dubium pertinere."

‡ Miss Norgate truly points out that the *Laudabiliter* is in no sense a Bull: it is a commendatory letter.

the approval or disapproval of his action. I shall not enter into a discussion of that much-debated point. It is, however, but fair to make the following observations :

(1) With reference to the motives which led Adrian to sanction Henry's project, Miss Norgate truly observes that "our inquiry has nothing to do with the *real* condition of Ireland in the time of Adrian. All that it has to do with is Adrian's idea of that condition."* We cannot doubt that that idea was largely, if not exclusively, based upon the accounts transmitted to him by the English King.

(2) As to the actual state of Ireland at the time, however greatly Henry's agent may have exaggerated the reports about it to the Pope, the Rev. Sylvester Malone quotes evidence† from the native Irish annals exclusively, for the fifty years before Adrian's privilege, which give a sad picture of the state of society and public morality, which the *Annals of the Four Masters* concisely sum up in the statement that "all Ireland was a trembling sod."

(3) Whatever view we may take nowadays of Adrian's right to interfere in the case, it is but just to place ourselves as far as we can in the position of a Catholic of those days. To such a one the papal action in this and other similar cases appeared not only natural, but quite consonant with the public international law which prevailed. And although we now know that the so-called "donation of Constantine" upon which the papal overlordship of all islands was based is apocryphal, still it must be remembered that in those days it was universally accepted and acted upon with the general consent of the Christian nations.

These considerations may perhaps somewhat attenuate the censures even of those who most severely condemn the papal action.

VII. THE LAST ACT.

We must now hurry to a close. The concluding years of Adrian IV.'s life were darkened by a fresh and more serious contest with the haughty German Emperor. Various causes led to this fresh struggle. Frederic had departed in anything but a satisfied state of mind to

* Op. cit. p. 36.

† Op. cit. pp. 8-11.

Germany, and the news of the peace concluded between the Pope and the King of Sicily greatly annoyed him, for he himself claimed as Emperor feudal rights over that kingdom, as over all Italy. On the other hand, the Holy See had serious reasons to be aggrieved at the conduct of Frederic. One reason was the outrageous attack and imprisonment inflicted upon Adrian's old friend of Scandinavian days, Archbishop Eskil of Lund, by some of the Emperor's unruly knights, for which deed the Pope justly felt bound to claim satisfaction. Another was a cause which has repeatedly drawn the Holy See into conflict with kings and princes—the defence of the sacredness of the marriage tie, for Frederic (as, centuries after, Napoleon) had divorced his childless wife Adelaide and taken as a fresh wife Beatrice, heiress of Burgundy. In the diet held at Besançon in 1157, two Cardinal Legates (one of whom, the dauntless Roland, was destined to be the next Pope) appeared from Adrian with a strong letter of complaint about the affair of Eskil. A somewhat imprudent style of address adopted by Cardinal Roland at the beginning of the interview evoked a first outbreak of wrath on the part of the Emperor and his nobles; but a single word in the Pope's letter, misunderstood or misinterpreted, fanned the flames into a serious conflagration. Adrian, in this letter, made use of the word *beneficium* in speaking of the favour he had granted to Frederic two years before in crowning him in Rome. It is clear that the word was used in its natural and obvious sense of a "benefit" or "favour." But Frederic's evil genius, the Chancellor Reinhold von Tassel (whose ideal seems to have been the creation of a national German State Church with a German Pope*), translated the word into German as if used in its technical and legal sense of a "fief." This would seem to imply that the Emperor was but the feudal vassal of the Pope. A terrible tumult was the result; the Legates narrowly escaped being cut down by the enraged princes, and, though saved by the Emperor's personal intervention, were driven

* Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, V., p. 478. It was this Reinhold who carried away the bodies of the three Magi from Milan to Cologne, where they still repose in the Dom.

ignominiously out of the country. Adrian's subsequent negotiations were conducted with prudence and skill, and in a second legation, in 1158, he was able to explain to the Emperor the misinterpretation that had been placed upon his words, and, Frederic professing himself to be satisfied, a reconciliation was once more, though only temporarily, effected between the two powers.

Notwithstanding this, however, in the November of the same year (1158), Frederic undertook his second invasion of Italy. The object of this expedition was to crush once for all the nascent spirit of Italian independence and to establish the absolute and despotic supremacy of the Emperor over the whole of Italy. What this meant will be gathered from the doings of the Diet held on the plain of Roncaglia, near Piacenza (November 23rd), to promulgate a new code of Imperial law. At this Diet the lawyers of Bologna were induced to declare *imperatorem esse Urbis dominum*. The jurist Luca di Penna is said to have affirmed, "The Emperor is on earth what God is in Heaven"; and the servile Archbishop of Milan, Uberto, almost blasphemously exclaimed: "*tua Voluntas ius est!*" No wonder that such an assembly, in which, to their shame be it said, fourteen Italian States took part, passed decrees forfeiting to the Emperor all the royalties, dues, and other customs, and exacting homage from all bishops and nobles. Milan, the city which stood out in the cause of liberty, had been besieged, taken, and humiliated. Other cities suffered similar fates.

The year 1159 was a terrible one for Italy. "Never, perhaps, had Lombardy been so miserable as it was in the early months of 1159." It was at this juncture that Pope Adrian stepped forth as the champion of Italian liberty. In his letters he severely blamed the weakness of the Lombards, encouraged the Milanese, fearlessly bearded the ruthless tyrant, withstood him in the affair of the Archbishopric of Ravenna, and dauntlessly upheld the rights of the Church and the Holy See. He made a powerful appeal to the three Archbishop-Electors of Germany, and at the Diet of Bologna, in the Easter of 1159, practically offered to the all-powerful Emperor by his

Legates an ultimatum behind which was the dread threat of deprivation of the Imperial crown and excommunication. This sturdy bearding of the lion in his den has won the just admiration of historians. There can be no doubt that to the unflinching courage and splendid example of the English Pope the Italian States owed much of that spirit of resolute independence which, years after Adrian's death, was to bear splendid fruit in the victory of Legnano.

War now seemed inevitable. The Emperor was advancing Romewards, Adrian was fortifying his fortresses. The insolence of Frederic's letters proved that all reconciliation was impossible, and Adrian was preparing to issue the dreaded Bull of excommunication against the Emperor, both for his public misdeeds and for putting away his lawful wife and taking to himself another. At this critical moment God suddenly called him by an attack of quinsy, which ended fatally on September 1st, 1159. His enemies of the Imperial party spread the absurd report that he had been choked by a fly! and this ridiculous story has come down with so many other "lies of history." His body was carried to Rome and buried in a red marble sarcophagus, next to that of Eugenius III., in old St. Peter's. In 1607 it was removed to the new basilica, where it may still be seen in the crypt, with the simple inscription, *Hadrianus Papa IIII*. On the occasion of the translation the body was exhumed, and is said, together with the pontificals in which it was arrayed, to have been found entire.

So ended the remarkable career of the first and last Englishman who ever attained to the papal throne, and one of the greatest and ablest of all the successors of St. Peter. I have endeavoured, not without difficulty, to compress within a moderate space but a jejune summary of the stirring events of his extraordinary pontificate, and even so have had to omit even reference to several other great questions in which he was involved, such as the organisation of the Spanish Church, the projected expedition of Louis VII. of France into Spain, and the bringing about

of good relations between France and England. It must be remembered that all these really great and important events of European history were crowded into a brief pontificate of less than five years, and we shall then have some idea of the energy, the strength of will, the statesmanship, and the political genius of this truly great man.

As regards his personal character, history records of him that he was eminent for great learning, for eloquence as a preacher, for his splendid voice, his beauty and dignity of person, and passing sweetness and kindness of disposition. Of other traits of character we have already spoken in preceding pages.

He is mentioned as having written several works, all unfortunately lost to us. One of these, it is interesting to note, was upon the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.*

In estimating his political actions as Pope, we must be careful to judge according to the notions and principles of his own times. To modern readers much of it may appear overbearing or arbitrary. But let us not forget that, as a man of the highest integrity and courage, he felt himself bound before God and man to maintain and transmit that great heritage of power and authority which he had received from his predecessors. Not only that, but in stepping forward to uphold the cause of the Church and Italy against the greatest and most formidable of all the German Kaisers, he became the saviour of Europe and of Christendom.

"His object (writes Bishop Creighton) was to maintain the claims of the Roman Church as they had been defined by Gregory VII. In this he showed skill, resoluteness, and decision; but he had for his antagonist the mightiest of the Emperors. He bequeathed to his successor a hazardous conflict, in which the Papacy succeeded in holding its own."†

Had Providence not raised up this great Englishman at the time, what would have been the result to Italy and to the Church of the West? The glorious history of the struggle for freedom of the Italian Republics would never

* Translations into English of the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer (the latter metrical), attributed to Adrian, are still preserved (see Tarleton, p. 254).

† Dict. of Nat. Biography, Vol. I., p. 145.

have been written, and the Church of Europe, absorbed in a new and irresistible Cæsarism, would have been brought to the condition of the Orthodox Russian Church under the Tsars, or of Islam under the Sultans of Turkey.

It has been not unjustly pointed out that German nationality and unity, too, are indebted to the stand made by Adrian and his successors against Barbarossa's plans. For had his scheme been carried out, and had the Emperor really become "*Urbis Dominus*," the seat of empire would in all probability have been transferred to Rome, Italy would have become the centre of gravity of Europe, and Germany would have remained a half-civilised and outlying province of the Empire.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

ART. VI.—THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES IN AUSTRIA UNDER THE EMPEROR JOSEPH II.

THERE are probably few characters in history more apt to puzzle the student than Joseph II. of Austria, the last but two of the long line of rulers who occupied the throne of the Holy Roman Empire. The son of the saint-like Empress Maria Theresa—one of the grandest women who ever ruled a nation—and strictly brought up in the tenets of the Catholic religion, nor ever renouncing them, he became the tool of Freemasons and “Illuminates,” and, practically, one of the greatest enemies the Church has ever had. An ardent lover of freedom, he became one of the greatest tyrants; burning with sincere love for his people’s happiness, he made them utterly unhappy by forcing them to be happy according to his own ideas; called to the administration of vast dominions under the most difficult circumstances, he delighted in settling the number of candles that were to be burned at Mass or Benediction.*

The descendant of a long line of illustrious ancestors, who had always considered it a privilege to found religious houses, he thought it wise to uproot everything they had created, and to confiscate everything they had given. Filling folio volumes with laws and decrees without number, he ended by revoking one after the other.† And at the end of his life he solemnly protested that he had honestly done everything for the best, and received the Last Sacraments most devoutly.

* It is well known that King Frederick II. of Prussia used to call him “My cousin, the Sacristan.”

† Among the many witty epitaphs which were proposed in Vienna, even before the Emperor’s death, was this: “Imperando et revocando vixi.”

The baneful effects of his well-meaning but misdirected intentions were such that even now the Church in Austria can scarcely be said to have completely recovered from them. It cannot, of course, be our intention to write here a history of the reign of Joseph II., nor a complete character-sketch—whole volumes would be necessary to do that. But some light will be shed on his character and his time, if we single out the story of his suppression of the Austrian monasteries.

First of all, we must understand how the ground was prepared for such extreme measures. The character of Joseph II. must be taken into account. From his early youth he was most obstinate, and his mother complained of this trait many a time.

In the nineteenth century, the noble-minded Emperor Francis Joseph was very unfortunate in the choice of the instructors of his son Rudolph, who came to so tragic an end. Joseph came very early under the influence of men in whose character Maria Theresa had greatly deceived herself. The worst of them was Van Swieten, a Dutch doctor, who obtained great influence in Vienna, an ardent Jansenist and anti-popery man; next to him we may rank Sonnenfels, a baptised Jew, or rather, infidel whose ideal was the paramount power of the State and the greatest possible increase of population and work.

Secret societies were undermining the whole of the Empire. The "Illuminates," whose founder and head was Weishaupt, Professor at the Bavarian University of Ingolstadt, called themselves in an official document "a holy legion, dispersed all over the world, who have sworn hatred to all kinds of religion, and death to all priests and tyrants." Men of position, savants, professors, even prelates belonged to the "Illuminates."*

As to Freemasonry, Joseph at first looked upon it as "harmless jugglery," but after some years he began to realise its power, and finding that it was impossible to go halves with it in the government of the country, he did

* For instance, Count Dalberg, who was afterwards made Coadjutor of the See of Mayence and ruler of the town of Frankfurt.

his best to keep it down, for which action he was duly assailed by the "brethren."

"Where would Austria be," asks a Freemason in a pamphlet, "if not in the hands of unholy priests, except for those 'jugglers' who for years had been preparing their downfall with a prudent and admirable prevision?"

The light of the French "philosophy" had begun to throw its rays upon Germany. Joseph admired Voltaire, but his mother did not allow him to visit the great man. Without knowing it, the headstrong youth became a tool in the hands of Voltaire's admirers.

The *écrasez l'infame* of the sage of Ferney never became openly the cry of the Austrian "philosophers"; no, religion had to be preserved, but the advisers of Joseph II. looked upon religion as a mere handmaid of the State. Says Sonnenfels: "Religion is the most effective means for preserving morality. Secular legislation would be quite insufficient in many things without the help of religion. Therefore the police must look upon religion not as the end, but as a means towards the end."

And again, Sonnenfels says: "The Ruler must not neglect this bridle [religion]; he must attend to it carefully. Every citizen must have religion; especially amongst the peasants, religion takes the place of government."

Frederick II. of Prussia was a shrewd observer. On receiving the news of Maria Theresa's death, he wrote to one of his Cabinet Ministers: "The Empress is dead: a new order of things begins." He was right; and though rejoicing at the idea of Christianity being shaken, he made the best of Joseph's blunders to strengthen his political position in the freshly-conquered province of Silesia. Whilst Joseph was confiscating Church property right and left, Frederick gained the affections of the Catholic Silesians by solemnly promising that he would never interfere with their religious status.

No sooner had Maria Theresa closed her eyes in death than Joseph began the "reforms" which she had dreaded for a number of years. The first blow came so soon after, that one cannot help thinking that the Emperor had prepared it long beforehand in his own mind.

In March, 1781, he issued the first decree against the monasteries. None of them was to keep up any communication with Rome, or with the General Superiors residing there, or with any other monastery outside the Austrian dominions. No General Chapter outside the monarchy was to be attended, no "Visitatores" from outside were to be received, no member of a monastery was to undertake a journey to Rome or to any place outside the Emperor's dominions. It is self-evident that no Order could exist under such conditions, the freest communication between the superiors and their subjects, and between the different branches being a *sine qua non* of monastic life.

Much harder was the second measure, by which Joseph simply suppressed all contemplative orders.*

The idea of men and women shutting themselves up from the world and spending their days in prayer and meditation was to him unintelligible; he called such people "fakirs," and declared they had no right to exist, because they did not advance the material good of the State.

His admirers and flatterers, who had done their best to ridicule religious establishments, were jubilant. How far they went may be seen from an extract from a truly blasphemous pamphlet, published A.D. 1782:

"If Christ were to come back into this world, He would first of all go to Vienna and embrace the great Joseph and kiss him, and say: 'My beloved Joseph, My dearest son, it is thou whom My Divine Father has put here on earth to re-establish in its ancient splendour My holy religion, which has been so laboriously preached by Myself and My apostles; for which so many martyrs have shed their blood, and which has been stained with so many superstitions and 'devotions' by those godless monks and priests (Pfaffen) who would be only too glad to crucify Me again. Neither the Pope, My Vicar, nor the bishops have helped thee in thy endeavours and in thy holy (!) decrees; therefore He (the Heavenly Father) has sent Me again to assist thee in thy undertakings.'"

* The whole of the decree is to be found in Brunner's "Joseph II.," in the *Sammlung Historischer Bildnisse*, p. 180 seqq.

J. Born published his *Monachologia*, a small but infamous book ; one wonders at the amount of frivolity and obscenity he has been able to crowd into a few pages. Imitating Linné's system, he describes monks and nuns in the different classes to which they belong. It is a pity that in the nineteenth century a French publisher has had the courage to reprint this abomination.

The same Born was dead against the Trinitarian monks, who for centuries had done yeomen's service in the rescue of Christian slaves from Barbary. He calls them "dealers in human flesh." "What good are they to the State? They collect large sums, to enrich with them the hereditary foe, and in return they bring us people who, being old, penniless, friendless, are a burden to the State. For people that are unable to serve the State are a mere nothing to the State, nay worse, they are a burden!" A truly philosophical view of Christian charity! What would Cervantes have thought of it?

The Austrian Bishops at that time—with very few noble exceptions—were not what they ought to have been, for, even under Maria Theresa, her advisers had been careful to promote only men who would be servile enough to lend themselves to any measure used by the State. Those Bishops, however, who had the courage to protest against Joseph's proceedings, received from him a very cool answer. He was not going to disquiet any man's conscience; the bishops were quite at liberty to resign their sees, and lay folks were at liberty to emigrate!

Any lover of art and antiquity must feel a pang at reading of the truly barbarian style in which the suppression of the monasteries was carried out by the Commissioners, who did many things which the Emperor had never intended, though art and antiquity were not of the least value to a mind like his, which wanted to turn everything to practical purposes.

In the Hofburg (Imperial Palace) in Vienna, there was a Museum begun by the Emperor Rudolph. Suddenly it occurred to Joseph that the Hofburg would make a splendid barracks, and immediately the order was given to dispose of the useless "rubbish" that had accumulated.

The catalogue drawn up by the commissioners is a lasting monument to their colossal stupidity. For instance, Titian's celebrated Leda is described in the catalogue as "a nude woman bitten by a wild goose." A fine antique torso found no purchaser, and was, therefore, promptly pitched out of the window. It is the celebrated Ilioneus of Munich, bought afterwards by King Ludwig I. of Bavaria (when heir-apparent), for the sum of 6,000 ducats.

It is easy to imagine how commissioners of this sort behaved in the monastic sacristies and libraries. The losses to art and science are beyond calculation. Let us see a few instances.

Duke Albrecht II., one of Joseph's ancestors, had founded the Carthusian monastery of Gamming, where he also was buried. Joseph suppressed it; the art treasures of the Church were destroyed, the magnificent cloisters were razed to the ground. Even the flint-hearted commissioners were touched on finding the founder's sword and poniard and choir-book, and proposed that these objects should be sent to the Imperial Treasury, but the Emperor commanded that everything should be sold by auction! So the sword went for 6 fl., the poniard for 2 fl., the magnificent choir-book for 57 fl. The splendid collection of old armour belonging to the monastery was sold as old iron.

Not even the ashes of the founder were left in peace. The leaden coffin was sold to a Jew for a couple of florins; the bones were lying in a corner of the crypt for fifteen years, and it is said that some peasants broke teeth out of the skull as a memento of the "good old man," whose memory had remained green during so many centuries! This Duke Albrecht must have been a prophet, for when the monks themselves protested against further gifts which he offered, he said to them: "Take now what I give you; the time will come when all these things will be taken from you again."

The magnificent embroideries belonging to the church disappeared *without a trace*. Fifty poor people were regularly housed and fed by the monks. Joseph's attention was called to the act that these poor people would be destitute. The answer was that, it being a matter of

voluntary alms without any obligation, the charity need not be continued.

The Dominican nuns had a fine convent at Imbach, which was dissolved in 1782. Rainer, the Abbot of Zwettl, and Protector of the Convent, was forced to be present when the commissioners read the Imperial Decree to the community. "My heart," he says, "was bleeding, when I saw the sisters, young and old, standing motionless and staring mutely in front of them, until at last their painful feelings found expression in tears."

All the cash—the grand sum of 108 fl. 40 kr.—was confiscated, likewise all the precious church furniture, the kitchen utensils, the linen, etc. As an act of grace, an old silver watch was allowed to the sub-prioress, but only as a loan!

The sisters asked to be allowed to remain as teachers and nurses, but were peremptorily commanded to leave, a small pension being granted to each one. The monastic buildings were given to the Count of Kuefstein for the ridiculous sum of 1,420 fl., no auction taking place.

A similar scene was enacted at Kirchberg, where only a few ruins nowadays speak of the glories of the old convent of the Augustinian nuns. The chapel was ordered to be pulled down, but proved too strongly built. The ecclesiastical vestments had to be handed over to the parish church; the property was sold to a nobleman of the name of Miltis, who got all the "almost illegible old writings" into the bargain. That was the designation for a priceless collection of documents. Where are they now?

The vandalism of those days seems almost incredible. The Governor of the Military School, at Wiener Neustadt, had the beautiful stained glass windows in the Church smashed, and sold the fragments as material for the manufacture of glass bottles!

The monastic libraries were sold *by the wagon-load*, sometimes at the rate of 1 or 2 fl. per wagon. The commissioners drove a roaring trade. On some occasions they dropped odd volumes from the first floor down into the yard; then they bought up the mutilated works for an old song, and, being able to complete them, sold them at a

high figure. On one occasion, at the command of that scoundrel Van Swieten, 300 bales of theological books were sold as old paper at the rate of 1 fl. a bale ; but, lest these books—orthodox ones—should do any mischief in the future, each one of them had to be mutilated by the tearing out of a number of pages.

The famous Convent of Dominicanesses, at Tulln, founded by the great Rudolph of Habsburg (after his victory over Ottokar, King of Bohemia), was suppressed, but the nuns were allowed to remain on condition that they were to undertake the teaching of the schools. Everything connected with history was destroyed, the church was demolished, the building material was sold, the silver urn containing the heart of Rudolph of Habsburg disappeared—it was sold to a Jew ! The monastic buildings were turned into a factory, and afterwards pulled down.

The so-called Royal Convent (Königskloster), near the Imperial Palace, in Vienna, was sold for four times the price which a speculator had offered ; the church was handed over to the Protestants !

Very few Catholics being found who were willing to sully their hands with property taken from the monasteries, the Jews made an enormous profit. A large syndicate of them, presided over by a Jewess of the name of Dobruska, went so far as to offer the government a lump sum of 20 million florins for the whole of the confiscated property. All gold and silver went immediately into the melting pot, so that in the rare cases where Joseph relented and counter-ordered the confiscation of precious articles, he was told that it was too late.

Count Mailath tells us* that Jankovic possessed a wonderful collection of Hungarian antiquities, which was afterwards sold to the National Museum at Pesth for the sum of 300,000 fl. Jankovic himself told the count that, as a young man at the time of the suppression of the monasteries, he had bought nearly all the objects from the Jews with his pocket money !

The Cistercian Abbey of Lilienfeld, founded A.D. 1202

* In his "History of the Austrian Empire," vol. v.

by Duke Leopold VII., was suppressed shortly before the Emperor's death. It was bought by Councillor Holzmeister, who, being a man of a practical turn of mind, gave orders that the magnificent gothic refectory was to be made into a stable for his sheep! After Joseph's death the iniquitous sale was rescinded, but no end of mischief had already been done. The precious church vessels had disappeared, the biggest bell had been sold to a Jew as old metal, likewise a grand fountain, which had been the admiration of every visitor.

The monastery of St. Florian possessed a large residence in the city of Linz. This house was simply confiscated by the Provincial Administration, but the necessary changes in the building were to be paid for by the Superior! Naturally the latter protested against this double injustice, saying: "How would you like to be driven out of your own house?" For this innocent remonstrance he received a very sharp rebuke, his expression being called extremely improper; at the same time he received fresh commands to pay the bills immediately.

One of the Government employés, who took up his residence in the house, demanded that the Superior should, at his own expense, change the domestic chapel into a nursery, and take away from it the statues of the angels and saints. The dignitary, of course, refused, but was actually *forced* by the Government to comply with the request.

Eybel, famous as a "Canonist," who knew no other power except that of the State, was one of the most zealous in carrying off the treasures of the monasteries. From St. Florian he carted away, besides the gold and gems, no less than 741lb. of silver, very few things being left, and these only, "*salvâ ratificatione imperiali.*" The Emperor commanded that at least part was to be given back, but the Jews had already done their work with the melting pot. A short time afterwards, however, Eybel's *mattresse* appeared at a ball at Linz, with the precious lunula of a monsternace hanging from her neck.

Waldrast was a famous place of pilgrimage. A lady from Innsbruck had given to the statue of our Lady a

magnificent collar of brilliants ; it disappeared, but was seen again afterwards round the neck of the wife of one of the commissioners, since which time she was known to the people only as the "Waldrast Madonna." Another commissioner had thought it fit to conceal a pretty large silver angel about his person, but when he stepped into his carriage the angel's head very indiscreetly peeped out of his pocket.

Joseph himself got quite enraged at times with his commissioners. He called them a lot of villainous thieves, and even dismissed some of them ignominiously.

For centuries Maria-Zell had been a favourite place of pilgrimage to the good people of Vienna, and even now sometimes thousands of men flock there together. The Emperor's attention was called to the specially dangerous state of things there, as the buildings were all of wood, and in a large concourse of pilgrims a fire might be accompanied by the most dreadful results. Joseph went there himself, and to the great astonishment of the Superior who accompanied him over the church and the buildings, he tapped all the walls with his cane. "Why," he exclaimed, "all this is solid stone, and those rascals have told me it was all wood!" He wanted to see the treasury, and noticed there particularly a silver statue of St. Mathias with a hatchet in his hand. "What is the meaning of that?" he asked. Very courageously, the Superior answered: "Your Majesty, the Apostle carries the hatchet to cut off the hands of intending robbers!" Joseph looked at him pensively ; at last he said : "I shall not take anything." Maria-Zell was saved.

One of the vastest and most beautiful monastic institutions was Kremsmünster.

The monks were not only robbed of everything, but had also the pleasure of paying 5,508 fl. for the expenses of the commissioners. The latter sold a golden monstrance, studded with gems, for 4,000 fl., though its actual cost had been 40,000 fl. Ten large boxes containing silver and precious objects were carried away. Joseph ordered part of the things to be given back, but here again with incredible promptness everything had been melted down. The whole

of the land and property was sold at a ridiculous price, there being only one bidder; the "Orangerie" was cut down, the fallow-deer were shot.

In several cases the buyers of monastic property recouped themselves within a year or two by cutting down part of the forests.

King Ottokar of Bohemia, the same that was vanquished by Rudolph of Habsburg, had founded a large convent of Premonstratensian nuns at Doxan, and in the document of the foundation had solemnly cursed the man who would ever dare to interfere with this house; Joseph suppressed it and changed it into a barracks.

There were considerably more than two thousand monasteries in Austria when Joseph II. succeeded his mother; at his death he left nothing but ruins behind him.

But even the confraternities were doomed—those harmless associations established to specially honour the Blessed Sacrament, or the Sacred Heart, or our Lady, or one or other of the saints. There were 121 such confraternities in the city of Vienna, 521 of them in the Province of Lower Austria alone. All were suppressed as not compatible with the enlightened views of the century, though their possessions were considered compatible with the exchequer, which received from the Viennese confraternities alone the sum of 700,000 fl. Joseph had demanded a legal opinion about these confraternities. This legal opinion is a masterpiece of logic. It can be reduced to this:

For the first thousand years there have been no confraternities in the Church.

Therefore they are not necessary.

Therefore the Emperor can confiscate the whole lot! The hatred of all the "enlightened" people against the special devotions, which are so dear to the people, is most characteristic.

Joseph himself pronounced the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus to be "absurd and phantastic."

The *Wiener Kirchenzeitung* (*Vienna Ecclesiastical Gazette*) rejoiced at being able to say that "instructive pamphlets, written by some priests who are zealous in the cause of the Catholic Church, have succeeded in lowering

the devotion to the Heart of Jesus—a devotion invented by the ex-Jesuits—to such an extent in the eyes of the people, that even the lowest classes are now ashamed to practise it.”*

The devotion known as the “Forty Hours” was likewise hateful in the eyes of the Emperor. “It may appear beautiful,” he says in one of his letters, “but one must confess that it is an invention of a recent date, and was altogether unknown to the holy ancient times.”†

The statue of our Lady of Dolours, symbolically represented with seven swords piercing her breast, was forbidden by an Imperial *ukase* as “superstitious and *unhistorical*.”

Thus the hand of Joseph was felt by his subjects in all their most cherished devotions. It would be utterly wrong to suppose that the Emperor, by suppressing the monasteries and confraternities, intended to enrich himself. As far as he was personally concerned, he did not wish for a kreuzer; no, all the money realised by the sale of monastic property was to go to the “Religions fonds” (Religious Fund), which was to be used for advancing the interests of religion in his dominions by endowing parishes, educating children, etc.

But, first of all, his commissioners stole millions; and, secondly, the money paid into his treasury, amounting as early as 1783 to about fifteen million fl., was not all spent in the interests of religion, but a good deal of it went towards the building of barracks or the erection of institutions for the benefit of poor ladies of noble families.

To conclude. A few monasteries were allowed to exist

* The same noble-minded paper is delighted to hear that Pochlin, a curate of St. Stephen's Cathedral, has been fined 100 fl., and has been sent to prison for a fortnight, for having sold booklets of prayers to the Sacred Heart at 2 kr. a piece, such prayers being nothing but the outcome of Jesuitism, causing “corner devotions” (*Winkelandachten*) and promoting impurity!

† The *Vienna Ecclesiastical Gazette* also laments that in Linz the Quarant' Ore is still kept up. The same paper is in despair on learning that the Stations of the Cross are still practised in some places, and calls a priest who has given a retreat a “tricky ranter.” He who wishes to get an insight into the almost incredibly abject servility of part of the Austrian clergy in the days of Joseph II., cannot do better than read Sebastian Brunner's *Theologische Hofdienerschaft*. The worst of all of them was Hrzan, a Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, who, however, afterwards, as Bishop of Szombathely, led an exemplary life.

on condition that they showed that they did something for the benefit of the common weal. But even in these cases the Emperor was so solicitous about the welfare of the monks that he forbade them the public recitation of the Divine Office. It would injure their health! Good Joseph!

The Emperor had the best intentions, but only succeeded in stirring up hatred, where he expected love and gratitude. We might fill a volume with the arbitrary decrees of Joseph II., one more incredible than the other.* We may have an opportunity later on to say a word about his despotic legislation with regard to the ecclesiastical seminaries—a legislation which cost him one of the fairest of his many lands, Belgium.

One more thing we may be allowed to mention. When, after his historic journey to Vienna, Pope Pius VI. returned to Rome, Joseph II. accompanied him as far as Mariabrunn, an old place of pilgrimage. Both of them prayed there for a while, and then they took leave of each other. *The very same day* the Imperial Commissioners turned up to dissolve the monastery!

In a confidential talk with one of his friends, just before his death, the Emperor asked that the following epitaph should be put up for him:

“Hier liegt ein Fürst, der die besten Absichten hatte und alle seine Pläne scheitern sah.”

“Here lies a Prince who had the best intentions, and saw all his plans wrecked.”

J. VERRES.

* Thus, for instance, in order to prevent the waste of wood, he commanded that no coffins were to be used for burial, but that all corpses were to be interred in sacks. The rage of the people was so great that the Emperor had to rescind his decree almost immediately.

ART. VII.—PICTURES OF THE REFORMATION PERIOD.

JOHANNES GEILER AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

WE have had occasion, in former studies of the Reformation period, to dwell at some length on the disorders and abuses that provided so fertile a soil for the dissemination of heresy, and for ensuring a consequent harvest of revolution and schism. The frightful decay of faith and morals at the close of the Middle Ages was, however, not allowed to go on unchecked, and we have endeavoured to show that apostolic men, such as St. John Capistran; Cardinal Nicholas Cusa, Johannes Busch, Gerhard Groot; and valiant women, like Charitas Pirkheimer, at Nuremburg, the nuns of St. Margaret and St. Agnes at Strassburg, were at least as active in the cause of reform as was the enemy in propagating evil. While some men were prompted by the needs of the Church, and by their own unquenchable, missionary ardour, to wander throughout the length and breadth of Germany, converting sinners and restoring discipline wherever they went, others were content to spend themselves in some single corner of the vast congeries of States now represented by the German Empire.

Among these latter was Johannes Geiler, the son of a notary at Schaffhausen, born in 1445. Soon after his birth, his parents removed to the neighbourhood of Kaisersberg, in Upper Alsace, where his father died, three years later, from a wound received while bear-hunting. The boy was adopted by his paternal grandfather, and lived happily at Kaisersberg till his fifteenth year. He

then began his more advanced studies at the University of Freiburg, which had been founded in 1456 by the Archduke Albert VI., a prince of the House of Hapsburg. It was not long before Geiler distinguished himself brilliantly, proceeding M.A. in 1464, and soon afterwards Doctor of Philosophy, receiving in quick succession every academic honour. He became Sub-Dean, then Dean of his College, but this dignity could, according to usage, only be held for six months, after which time he was ordained, and went to the University of Basle—then at the height of its fame—to continue the study of Theology. As a member of the faculties of Philosophy and Theology, he lectured in 1471 on Deuteronomy and the Apocalypse, and during the two following years on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. In 1474 he was Dean of the faculty of Arts, and, in 1475, Doctor of Divinity, at the age of thirty. Scarcely had he completed his studies when he was invited to occupy the chair of Theology at Freiburg, and on October 31st, 1476, was elected Rector of that University. In the following year, however, he determined to devote himself exclusively to apostolic work.

During his sojourn at Freiburg, Geiler had had some experience of the cure of souls, but he soon found that his calling did not lie in the confessional. His scrupulosity made him not only slow but uneasy; hearing confessions became the most painful ordeal to him, and it would sometimes happen that he would recall his penitent two or three times after giving him absolution, in order to add yet further advice or warning.

But in the pulpit he was thoroughly at home. Keen and incisive in his speech, he attacked the sins of the age in language at once forcible, original, and convincing. Here his zeal and energy found full scope, and he had no hesitation in accepting the offer of some of the foremost citizens of Würzburg* to occupy the position of preacher in their town. He preached a trial sermon, with which

* Würzburg being in Franconia, and Strassburg in Alsace, these places were then considered to be in different countries. Although not born in Alsace, Geiler was brought up there, and was always known as Geiler of Kaisersberg.

the burghers were so well pleased that they at once proposed to give him a stipend, amounting to the then considerable sum of two hundred gold dollars, until a suitable benefice could be found for him. Geiler hastened back to the University to fetch his books, making a halt at Strassburg to visit the Burgomaster, Peter Schott, who knew him at least by reputation, Basle and Freiburg being frequented by many Alsatian students. When Schott found that the learned man who had already made a name for himself at two Universities was forsaking the professorial chair for the pulpit, he drew so lamentable a picture of the spiritual and moral desolation of Strassburg, and argued so cleverly about the duty which Geiler owed before all to his own country, that he finally persuaded him that it would be wrong for him not to remain there. Schott easily arranged matters with Robert, Bishop of Strassburg: it was agreed that a certain episcopal chaplaincy should be conferred on the preacher as a means of livelihood, but the actual holder of the benefice would have to be compensated, and Schott agreed to pay him an annuity of thirty gold dollars out of his private fortune.

While this business was being arranged to the satisfaction of the Strassburgers, a messenger arrived post-haste from Würzburg, in quest of the missing preacher. The citizens of Strassburg became greatly excited, and for fear less Geiler should be kidnapped, they clapped the emissary into prison until all the pledges and counter-pledges were signed and sealed. When everything had been settled, and Geiler solemnly installed, a second messenger appeared. Him they received in a friendly manner, released the first comer, stifled his sense of injury with handsome damages, and sent both home with a letter and affectionate salutations to their good friends of Würzburg. The action was summary, but characteristic of the way in which disputes were avoided or settled in the fifteenth century.

Subsequently, Bishop Robert, with the consent of his Chapter, erected the preachiership into a permanent institution, and, at the request of his successor, Pope Sixtus IV. confirmed the office by a decretal. The title of episcopal

chaplain was suppressed, and the functions belonging thereto were merged into those of the preachiership. The Bishop made over to the Dean and Chapter the right of nomination to the new dignity, reserving to himself the confirmation of their choice. It was made incumbent on them to elect, as far as possible, the worthiest and most experienced candidate, a Licentiate or Doctor of Divinity, who was only to be considered definitely elected after a trial of two months. A certain portion of the revenues of the Cathedral was set aside as his stipend, and the Chapter was to provide him with a suitable residence. He was to have a fortnight's holiday in the course of the year, and might not be absent at any other time, even for one night, without the consent of the Dean, and never on any pretext during Lent. Illness or express leave from the Dean were the only excuses allowed for missing a sermon. Moreover, during his absence or illness, the sermon was by no means to be omitted, but must be preached by another secular priest. In Lent there was to be a sermon daily; at other times of the year, on Sundays and Holidays of obligation, besides the vigils of the principal feasts, and on special occasions, such as the visit of a Papal Legate or that of any other important personage. The preacher was dispensed by the Bishop from attendance in choir, but he was obliged to swear obedience to the Chapter.

In undertaking this office, Geiler did not blind himself to its difficulties, or to the inevitable struggle that awaited him. He foresaw the resistance he would encounter in attacking deeply-rooted abuses not only among the laity, and even in the ranks of the magistrature, which appeared so friendly and appreciative, but from the clergy themselves. Nevertheless, he knew that it was his duty as a servant of the Divine Word to stand like a wall of granite against an ever-flowing stream of vice, and nothing daunted him. Strong in his trust in God, in the support of the bishop, and in the sympathy of the better portion of the population, he remained at his post for more than thirty-two years, with a perseverance that nothing could diminish. To adopt one of his own expressions, he was like a bugler, who in spite of bullets and bombs, ceased

not to call to where the battle waged hottest, till his spirited notes were silenced by death.*

He had before long ample opportunity for showing the stuff of which his eloquence was made. Bishop Robert died on October 17th, 1478, and a month later, day for day, Geiler preached his funeral sermon. The discourse was in Latin, in presence of the new bishop, of a crowd of princes, counts, bishops, abbots and other dignitaries. Robert had had failings, but also thoroughly good qualities, and during the latter years of his long reign, which had extended from 1439 to 1478, he had done his best to restore order in his principality, to make good the faults of former rulers, especially those of his predecessor, Wilhelm von Diest, as well as to atone in some measure for his own former shortcomings. The verdict of history is not unfavourable to him, and he had certainly been a benevolent patron of Geiler's ; but the preacher, considering the elevated position of the dead prelate, and the talents conferred upon him, refused to extol virtues which he looked upon as very ordinary ones, while he deemed the opportunity favourable for impressing upon all present the vanity of earthly greatness.

"Robert is dead !" he cried ; "Robert, by God's grace Bishop of Strassburg, Count Palatine, Duke of Bavaria, Landgrave of Alsace ——— dead in the arms of his relations, like any other worm of earth." And after expressing a wish that some other than himself, possessed with the eloquence of a Cicero, might have preached this funeral sermon, Geiler went on to describe the blessings of peace, for which the diocese had to thank its late bishop, and added : "For this, oh, Robert, may God grant thee eternal peace !"

Here the preacher paused, and then, with an inspiration at once dramatic and intensely solemn, he, as it were, called up the angry shade of the departed, and caused him to speak thus :

"Thou extollest the nobility of my house ; thou extollest to the sky the benefits of peace, and for these reasons thou lamentest my death. Thou fool !"

* *Navicula fatuorum turba*, 103.

"Wherefore a fool?" asked Geiler.

"Because," replied the preacher in the character of the dead bishop, "because fame, riches, enjoyment, even life itself, and all that men praise and seek is naught."

Geiler excused himself by saying that he knew this very well, but did not venture to declare it. Robert himself must expound these hard truths.

"Do not dare," continued the dead man, "to magnify noble blood. Have we not all one Father? Are we not the creatures of one God?" and he began to enumerate one after the other, Saul, David, the Apostles—all of whom the Lord had chosen from among the obscure and lowly, showing that there was no value in birth and position, but only in virtue and nobility of soul; and he discoursed on the utter vanity of human life. Nevertheless, there was something good in life, inasmuch as it was the road to a happy eternity, if only men did not miss it.

"And which is the way?" asked the preacher.

"Fear God and keep His commandments; that is the whole law."

"But here are bishops, prelates, abbots; hast thou no special recommendations for them?"

"They have the rules given them by the Fathers of the Church, let them follow these. But," continued the shade, "tell me, Johannes, is there not a new bishop in my place already? Who is he?"

"He is Albert, thy nephew. Hast thou any command for him?"

"As often as thou seest him, forget not to repeat to him the words of the Apostle: 'A bishop should be blameless,' etc., and from this text, the dead man expounded the whole round of a bishop's duties, ending by saying: "Tell him all this."

"Albert has heard it himself, he is here," replied Geiler, and then, with one last impressive "God be with thee," he allowed the supposed apparition to sink again to rest. Turning to the august assembly, he closed his sermon with the words: "God be with you all. Robert is dead!"

Bishop Albert continued the work begun by his uncle.

He sought to reduce the debts of his diocese, redeemed long-pawned fiefs, and repaired the fortresses and castles of his principality—excellent measures which enabled those who came after him to withstand the ravages caused by the War of the Peasants. In order to obtain means for carrying out these reforms, he induced Sixtus IV. to empower him to receive the revenues of all the vacant benefices in his diocese for the space of one year. This was termed the granting of annates. He further applied for, and received a dispensation for the diocese of Strassburg, from the severity of the Lenten fast; and the Pope allowed, as in 1344 for Cologne and Treves, the use of butter and eggs. Whoever wished to make use of this dispensation obtained it in exchange for an alms proportioned to his circumstances. So large a number of people availed themselves of it, that it was possible to supply the fortresses with new cannons, which were at once popularly dubbed "Butter-boxes."

But the proceeding was extremely repugnant to Geiler, and he ceased not to bewail the departure from the original severity of the Lenten abstinence. His friends doubted whether he ever availed himself of the dispensation, however much he suffered from the rigour of Lent.

Meanwhile, the reforms which had been set on foot barely extended to spiritualities, although there was some slight improvement in the episcopal palace. Bishop Robert had never been in the habit of saying Mass, but would communicate on Holy Thursday with his lay courtiers in his private chapel. Bishop Albert did sometimes offer the Holy Sacrifice on solemn feasts, and frequently during Lent, but was never known to do so in his cathedral. After his death, Geiler said of him: "It is true that he never once performed any pontifical act, but he had a crozier and mitre made (insignias of episcopal dignity which had not been used by the Bishops of Strassburg for a hundred years—they had probably been pawned and never redeemed) though he never made any use of them."

Once, by dint of a great effort, he convened a diocesan synod. It was in Low Week, 1482. Six hundred priests obeyed the summons, and Geiler was entrusted with the

opening sermon. He did not spare his hearers, and even Albert himself was not handled delicately. He told him a parable: "Once a bishop was riding in the midst of a gay throng of warriors and courtiers, and coming to a field, saw a peasant staring open-mouthed at the cavalcade, forgetful of plough and furrow. The bishop asked him why he stared so stupidly, and what he was thinking of. The ploughman answered that he was wondering whether St. Martin, who was also a bishop, went about in such attire, and with such company. But the bishop replied that he was not there then as a bishop, but as a duke, and that if the man would see him as a churchman, he should come to the cathedral on such and such a day, when he would find him in that capacity. Whereupon the peasant began to smile grimly, and answered: 'But when the devil carries off the duke, what shall become of the bishop?'"

Geiler ended his discourse, in which he had lashed the sins of the sanctuary with a whip of scorpions, by a business-like appeal:

"Now speak, my Lord Bishop, and tell us what you have resolved to do in the matter of reform. Show us that you are animated with zeal for the building up of the Church; that you intend to carry out what has already been determined, for of what use is it to make new resolutions when neither the old nor the new are to be kept? Let the deed follow the word, or it will one day be objected that you have indeed the voice of Jacob, but that your hands are the hands of Esau."*

The acts of this synod have not been preserved, and much that was hoped from it was not attained, many hindrances occurring to hamper Bishop Albert's good intentions. But Geiler would not hear of defeat, and continued to work indefatigably in the cause of reform.

One of the things he had most at heart was the unhappy fate of condemned criminals, who, according to a custom very prevalent in the Middle Ages, went to their death deprived both of Holy Communion and of christian burial.

* "*Sermones et varii tractatus Kaiserbergii*," Strassburg, 1518.

At Strassburg, those who were condemned to be hanged were taken to a small chapel, where a priest exposed the Blessed Sacrament for a short time, after which they were led to the place of execution at one of the city gates. The same ceremony was observed in the Church of St. Martin for those who were to suffer death by drowning. The Sacrament of Penance was administered to them on the Schindbrücke (bridge of shingles), and they were then flung from the bridge into the Ill.

Geiler, indignant at this rigorous law, demanded its abolition. But the magistrature defended the ancient usage, and the religious orders were on their side—a single friar, the Carmelite Johann Freitag, adopting Geiler's view. In those days, all disputes were apt to become violent, and the whole city was agitated. The bishop referred the matter to the more learned among his clergy, but opinions were divided. In the meantime, a Papal legate, the Franciscan, Emmerich von Kemel, arrived at Strassburg, and was at once assailed with the question that was occupying all minds. He refused to give any answer, until the opinion of the University of Heidelberg had been ascertained. It proved favourable to Geiler's desire. The faculties of Theology and Jurisprudence declared unanimously that if the condemned showed signs of contrition, and a desire to receive Holy Communion, it ought not to be denied to them. Accordingly, in the first week of Lent, 1485, the magistrature of Strassburg abolished the old law, and decreed that if the confessor of any criminal esteemed him worthy, he might communicate him before execution. This rule continued in force until Strassburg was united to France, when the severe laws of the Gallican Church again deprived him of the privilege of Communion.

Other reforms, to obtain which Geiler worked not unsuccessfully, related to the abuses connected with certain religious feasts. According to an old ritual of the Cathedral of Strassburg, the Feast of St. Stephen was dedicated to deacons; that of St. John the Evangelist, to priests; the Octave of the Epiphany, to sub-deacons; and that of the Holy Innocents, to the ranks of the clergy below the

sub-diaconate, and to choristers. The popular customs, originally full of picturesque symbolism which attached to the feast of the Holy Innocents, and to that of Pentecost, had degenerated, as the religious sense of the people declined, into wild buffoonery bordering on sacrilege. The custom of electing a boy-bishop, whose word was law for the day, in honour of the martyred Innocents, had originated with the Emperor Conrad I., in 912. The choristers presided at Divine Office, and their master sang High Mass ; after which all the boys rode through the streets in carts, singing, with becoming solemnity, the mysteries of our Lord's birth, the adoration of the Magi, etc. But, gradually, the gentle, well-conducted youths of the episcopal seminary were replaced by rough, untutored fellows, whose religious and dramatic sense was nil, and whose only idea of recreation was what we should now call horse-play. For years they had been the annual terror of peaceful folk, making of the scene a hideous pandemonium, and a scandal to all christian souls. On the vigil of the feast it had become customary for them to choose a bishop from among their number, and when in the vespers of St. John *Deposuit potentes de sede* was sung, the boy-bishop, in pontifical vestments, went to the bishop's throne, sang the orations, and gave the blessing, while his comrades in the choir sang the antiphons and responses. The same ceremony was repeated the next day, and when the services were over, the boys led their bishop, travestied, through the streets, performing mad pranks on the passers-by, creating disorder and alarm everywhere, and finally forcing an entrance into churches and monasteries, where, by their numbers, they were able to carry all before them.

The subject of these scandals was much debated in the synods of the fifteenth century, but popular institutions die hard, and in Geiler's day they continued to disgrace the church of Strassburg. Even more repulsive were the abuses which gathered round the ceremonies of Whitsuntide. In ancient times, these ceremonies were as imposing as they were solemn. From all parishes in the diocese pilgrims bearing crosses, banners, and relics streamed to

the metropolitan church, and during the whole octave processions passed through the streets almost ceaselessly, going from church to church singing and praying devoutly. On the feast itself, the pilgrims walked in procession, after High Mass at the cathedral, to the so-called *Liebfrauen-Haus*, where each person received a small coin called the "Whit-penny," a tax which the administrators of the cathedral building-fund were bound to pay to the inhabitants of the various communes who had contributed to the building of the sacred edifice. So far there was nothing objectionable, but one by one various elements of popular buffoonery were introduced, until at last it was usual, on the return of the procession to the cathedral, for a clown to place himself behind a certain grotesquely-carved statue near the organ, where he attracted general attention by the most hideous noises and gestures, interrupting the devotions by ribald songs bawled out at the top of his voice, and interspersed with impish tricks and grimaces. This creature was called "the roaring ape," and his antics came to be considered an integral part of the Whitsuntide ceremonies.

But each feast-day throughout the year had its particular scandals, which were not absent even when the Church exhorted the faithful to do penance. On Ash Wednesday, when the great black curtain called the "hunger-cloth" was hung in front of the altar, to hide the holy mysteries from public gaze, in order to make the people understand something of the Church's desolation in contemplating the sufferings of her Divine Spouse, the rougher elements of the population found means to disturb the solemnity of the occasion by counter demonstrations of a revolting character. Incredible though it seems, when, after the distribution of the ashes, a procession was formed, and the devout among the Strassburgers, preceded by a cross hung with black, passed through the city chanting the Litanies of the Saints, a rival procession would set out from the same centre, ridiculing in every detail the sacred acts which had just taken place, a rag smeared with ashes being carried at the end of a pole to represent the hunger-cloth.

No wonder if Geiler, in common with the most earnest men of his time, deplored the frequent recurrence of holy days, and did what he could to lessen their number.

This callous and indecent behaviour was not confined to the people, but permeated all ranks, and probably had its origin among the higher classes, filtering downward until no portion of the body politic was free from it.

It was the habit of sportsmen to assemble in Strassburg Cathedral as a kind of meet before hunting, and the great nobles with their retainers might be seen on those days walking up and down in hunting costume, falcons on their wrists or hounds at their heels. Here, also, the Bürgermeister, for whom a special place was reserved, would hold his magisterial court, hear witnesses, and give sentence. The porch was filled with vendors of all kinds of wares, who were allowed, on payment of a small tax, to erect booths and stalls. The aisles were not only used as a place of public promenade, even during the singing of the Divine Office, but the church was habitually treated as a short cut to and from the market-place; and merchandise bought there was indiscriminately carried home that way. Even young pigs were carried squealing through the sacred building.

For years, Geiler thundered and waged war in vain against these atrocities. People had grown so accustomed to the actual condition of things, that even the better sort were not easily moved to fight for reform. Nevertheless, the preacher's voice was not raised entirely in vain. In 1480 the magistrature were induced to abolish certain causes of complaint. Social gatherings were forbidden inside the cathedral, and the law was no longer administered therein. Women might not thenceforth sit and lounge on the steps of the choir. It was made penal to swear by the different members of our Lord's body. No victuals were to be sold in the church porches on Sundays, and on the four principal feasts. A fine of £5 was imposed on any man entering a convent of women, and *vice versa*. The boy-bishop was forbidden to incense the altar, or to sing the orations. But against the horrible profanity of the "roaring ape" Geiler not only pleaded and threat-

ened in vain, but his attacks provoked so much antagonism that the scandal was even aggravated.

However partial his success, Geiler never ceased denouncing abuses, and he spared neither individuals nor corporations; his animated speech knew no barriers of human respect, and it is therefore not surprising to find him, in the year 1500, in open collision with the magistracy. Their complaint against him was that in a sermon he had denounced them as "the devil's own brood, together with their ancestors and their posterity." The expression was undeniably a strong one, but forcible language was the order of the day. The preacher by no means denied the charge, and answered them verbally: "It is true that I have so expressed myself, and with deliberate intention. My reasons are too far-reaching to be given here, but I will not delay to put them before you in writing." The result was a series of twenty-one articles, each article consisting of the statement of a scandal either tolerated or perpetrated by the governing body of Strassburg. The last article related to the use made by them of the rack, for the purpose of wresting the truth from the lips of the accused in criminal trials. The custom was universal throughout Europe, but Geiler maintained that it was illegal and iniquitous, and that other means of eliciting evidence, more in accordance with christian and imperial law, must be found. He concluded thus: "Nüremberg, to its eternal honour and glory, has abolished the rack;* let us do likewise, and this our city of Strassburg will be looked up to by every other city throughout the land. At present, everyone says, 'It is done at Strassburg; there they know better than we;' and on this account we should remember our responsibility. I have not written these articles for the hurt or shame of any one, but because of the duty of my office, and of the command I received to exhort you fraternally."

The archives of the city are dumb as to any immediate results obtained by Geiler's articles, and subsequent history mentions but a few points in which the demanded reforms

* It was in constant use in England a hundred years later.

were made. For twenty-three years, a man of the purest morality, of the deepest insight, of the most convincing logic, had stood up in the midst of his people, and had called upon them ceaselessly, in the name of religion, morality, liberty, and dignity, to put down crying evils; and at the end of that time, for all his spent labour, had obtained but a few grudgingly-bestowed reforms, which left the root of the matter practically untouched. When the morality of a whole nation is on the decline, it is hard indeed for a preacher, even were he a St. John the Baptist, to arrest the downward movement for a single day.

Despairing to effect any lasting good by means of an inert legislative body, Geiler continued to appeal to what remnants of recuperative power might still be found among the people. He warned all whom it might concern against entering the ranks of the clergy without real vocations. Here, he insisted, there must be no question of leading an easy life, of accumulating riches, or of seeking a career. "We priests must betake ourselves to meditation," he said earnestly; "our business is not to heap up benefices, to ride about the country with a cavalcade of sixty horses, but to live a contemplative life." Again, he addressed parents who regarded the ecclesiastical state as a means of livelihood for their children, and who comforted themselves with the reflection, "He has nothing to worry about: he is a priest, and is provided for." He reproached them with considering that the most wretched and ill-conditioned of their children was good enough to be given to Almighty God. "Is one of your children a cripple, or infirm in any way (you wish he were at Jericho), 'Oh,' you say, 'he will make a good enough priest'; or, 'We will turn him into a monk'; just as when you have a hen with the pip, or a measly sucking-pig, you offer him to St. Anthony. This is the way, forsooth, we give our children to God! You complain that there are so many bad priests. It is your fault for forcing them upon the Church without a vocation, disregarding the Church's laws."

Of the existing relations between the regular and secular clergy he says: "Monks are given as helpers to the parochial clergy, that souls may be guided into the way of

salvation. Priests should remember this, and religious also, and these latter should not set themselves up as superior to the *curés*, but consider that they are the servants of one Lord, monk and priest alike."

He has a word, too, in favour of mutual charity between members of religious orders. "Religious people," he complains, "are all opposed to each other, each maintaining that his own order is higher, or holier in the sight of God than all the others. . . . If one order is old, another is older. 'St. Francis founded my order,' 'St. Dominic mine,' and 'St. Benedict mine.' It should not be so. Christ our Lord is the Abbot of us all, and we are all under Him; therefore, let no one order put anything in the way of another, or despise another, for we are all one order in Christ, Who is our one Abbot. But, alas! one is a Thomist, another a Scotist, another an Albertist, another an Ockamist, and no monk calls one of another order learned. This is folly. Let a man be of what order he will, if he says what is good, he is a good teacher."

Like Johannes Busch, Geiler devoted a large portion of his time and thoughts to the restoration of discipline in religious communities. His influence was, perhaps, most effectually and permanently seen among the order of Penitents of St. Mary Magdalen. Finding that they had become considerably relaxed, he succeeded in causing them to adopt the more severe rule of St. Augustine, being cordially seconded in his efforts by their virtuous Superior, Mother Susanna Horwartin. He said Mass for them daily, preached to them often, and translated for their use several ascetic works into German. A large number of the sermons which he preached to these nuns and to others have happily been preserved, and show his earnest appreciation of the religious life. They are an amply sufficient answer to those who profess to recognise in him an opponent of monasticism. His line of thought expressed therein is this: Nothing is more praiseworthy than for a soul to consecrate itself to God by the three vows of religion; no state is nobler or more sublime. In a religious house one may live more purely, fall less often, rise more easily, watch over oneself more successfully, be more

carefully supervised, more freed from worldly cares, may receive richer graces, and prepare oneself better for death and eternity than anywhere else on earth. One cannot thank God enough for having been enabled to choose a state wherein one serves Him alone. Every thought of regret is a temptation of the evil spirit. No one should oppose so grand a vocation. Even the custom of destining children for the cloister is, according to Geiler, not to be reprehended, provided it is done from a pure motive, and the religious house in view observes its rule faithfully.

As regards those who have been forced into convents against their will, he treats the difficult subject with great wisdom, and, while he pities the unhappy victims, will not agree to their seeking dispensation from the rule, but declares them to be bound by their vows. At the same time, he does what he can to reconcile them to their fate, and to make them good religious. "Do not say," he exclaims, 'My parents have forced me into religion; may they suffer for it in hell!' I admit their intention was not a good one, but do you thank God, Who has through them led you out of the world, and seek to win heaven. God has allowed the thing to come to pass, therefore pray for the souls in purgatory, and especially for those of your parents."

It is not enough to enter a convent; one must lead a truly monastic life, and Geiler takes an example from the three holy women who went to our Lord's sepulchre. "Religious, too, must go into the tomb. But what is this tomb? It is not the cloister; that is but the seal where-with the stone is sealed; the cloister is but the garden in which the Holy Sepulchre is to be found. God gave you the grace to enter the garden, but now you must penetrate into the grave: that is, into your own hearts. You must be stretched out by means of self-denial, and wrapped round with the shroud of a clear conscience. Strew upon this grave the flowers of good works, light the torch of understanding and faith, then recite the prayers for the dead, meditate, and praise God."

The cowl does not make a monk, nor the habit a nun, but the heart. There are two orders: the outer one, by

which one appears to be a monk or a nun ; the inner, by which one is in truth and reality a religious. The inner order consists in patience, humility, the love of God and man. To the outer belong the rule, singing, reading, fasting, silence, enclosure. The latter is nothing without the former. To make the religious life consist in outward works, Geiler calls "spiritual sloth," unredeemed by the consecration of the heart to God. Outward works have for their object the conversion of the inward man—a difficult task indeed, and many find it easy to leave the goods of this world, but few to forsake their own wills. He insists on the careful observance of the rule, and on cheerful obedience, and he judges three things indispensable, but also sufficient, for securing an effective reform. These are strict enclosure, community life in all things, and silence. Even in regular houses, the ease with which the nuns can see their relations and friends causes restlessness and preoccupation with the concerns of the world outside, distractions, and a longing for human consolations. The nuns receive all sorts of presents at the grating, so that conventual poverty becomes a self-deception ; and there are two classes of religious—those who are really poor, and those who belong to rich families. Parents, under the pretext of their children's weak health, bring them every imaginable comfort, and the nuns are at last unable to live without "little birds, little cats, and little dogs." In the unreformed houses, community life is a mere name ; one may see twenty, thirty, forty different saucepans on the kitchen fire, testifying to the particular appetite or fancy of each sister. Geiler insists on a common table and on uniformity of clothing. "And this poverty," he observes, with one of his touches of gentleness in the midst of thundering eloquence, "must be put on meekly, and cherished with all your hearts, after the example of our Lord Jesus Christ."

If religious life has its joys and consolations, it has also its heavy trials : gratings and bolts are not able to shut out and keep at a distance tedium, strife, anguish of heart, dryness, temptations. He consoles and edifies the poor tormented soul, and places it in the presence of God.

In playful allusion, he compares it to a small bird caught and imprisoned in a narrow room ; it flies to the window, stretches out its neck, and would fain be outside. If the sash be open ever so little, it hastens to effect an escape. Even so the soul which has forsaken all earthly things should pine and long for God. "If any happiness is still to be found in this miserable world," he cries, "there is no more likely place in which to look for it than in a convent where the rule is faithfully kept."

For more than thirty years Geiler gave instructions such as these in the convents of the regular observance in Strassburg. The history of the years that followed confirmed all his hopes and fears. Scarcely were his eyes closed in death, when the day of trial dawned. Some of the religious houses fell, others maintained a stout-hearted fidelity. In 1524, the bare-footed Carmelites threw away their habits, and gave up their convent to the magistrature. Their example was followed by the Dominicans, of whom, however, a small number remained faithful to their vows and emigrated. The fall of the Poor Clares of Strassburg was a lamentable contrast to the heroic courage with which their sisters of Nuremburg fought the good fight. The Dominicanesses of St. Margaret we have already followed through their victorious struggle with the powers of darkness, and the Penitents of St. Mary Magdalen were their worthy associates. To the end of his life Geiler guarded these from every danger from without, and was especially careful that they should not fall into the hands of confessors from any of the relaxed mendicant orders. Their convent weathered all the storms of the Reformation ; and for a hundred years afterwards, until the French occupation, it was the only place in Strassburg where Catholic worship was still held. It was assuredly one of the brightest jewels in Geiler's crown.

Writes on the pre-Reformation period are wont to lay so much stress on the corruption of ecclesiastical institutions, ignoring the rottenness of the whole body social and politic, that it would appear as though a world thirsting for righteousness had found the cisterns of the Church empty and dry. The result of this false and restricted

view has been considerably to confuse the questions at issue. If the Church was in a sorry plight, it was because of its too close contact with a society from which every semblance of justice had departed. Wimpfeling, the celebrated humanist, Geiler's first biographer, in his *Amoenitates*, shows that in Germany, as in England, the lusting after other people's goods had far more to do with the secularisation of monasteries and convents than their decadence or any other argument whatever. He says :* "In our time, covetousness is a veritable disease, and the seducers of our princes seek to persuade them that the clergy are a great deal too rich, and that their goods may be stolen and confiscated without fear of injustice, perjury, or any offence against God. Therefore, they begin by taxing heavily all ecclesiastical property, capital, lands, houses, and farms, in the hope soon to be able to swoop down upon them. Their first pretext is the demoralisation of the clergy, and they bellow loudly against the servants of God, as if they were leeches on the body of the State. But, I ask them, 'What do the clergy possess that belongs to you? What have you ever given to the Church? Granted that they are richer than many of you who have squandered your inheritance in play, luxury, excesses, and every vice. Does that give you a right to steal the property of the Church? There are others who are rich also; have the poor the right to break into their houses, and empty their money-boxes and granaries? You reproach churchmen with making a bad use of their riches, but do you employ in defence of the Church the tithes which you have obtained under the distinct understanding that they should be so used? Each one will be judged at the last day.'"

In some ways, the condition of the world was not unlike what it is in our own day. By the side of a nobility sunk to a low ebb of morality, and more than half-ruined by habits of luxury, had arisen a strong middle class, intelligent, industrious, and enriched by favourable commercial affairs. This new generation if more virile than the old

* Vol. II., p. 178.

was above all remarkable for its flippancy, its ambition, and its pride. It loved nothing so much as money. Whoever possessed money was honoured, thought much of, and courted. Women of the middle classes dressed themselves like noble dames, worthy wives like courtesans, and these latter like princesses. Geiler's censures on the extravagant fashions in dress would scarcely surprise us in a present-day sermon. "In these days," he declared, "women go about looking like men, with their hair hanging down their backs, and wearing little round hats with cock's feathers. Look at their skirts, cut up like a chess-board, with so many pieces that the making costs more than the material. Some possess so many dresses that they have two for each day in the week, one for the morning, another for the afternoon, and when they go to dances or other amusements, they have still other dresses to wear, and they will rather let the moth eat them than give them to the poor. Do you wish to study Hungarian, Bohemian, Saxon, French, Welsh, or Flandrian fashions, you must come to Strassburg, where they are all to be seen."

Even the dress of the clergy did not escape Geiler's criticism, and he blamed them for adopting the French cassock with its absurdly long train. No one was spared. The peasantry and the lowest class of citizens, so long preserved by the simplicity of their way of life from the lax morality of the age, were no longer to be praised, and we hear the preacher bewailing their newly-developed habit of loitering in ale-houses. The small farmers also fell a prey to the new-fashioned luxury and self-indulgence. They were no longer content to go about in ticking, and to wear the little short jacket that had been their costume for centuries, but must needs buy cloth from Mechlin, and have it hacked about, and dyed all sorts of colours. In order to get money to spend on these vanities, they raised the price of corn and wine to an extortionate degree. Their ambition was to obtrude their sons into church benefices, while they railed against tithes, and evaded them as often as they could.

Lest we should suspect Geiler's account of this state of society to be overdrawn in his zeal for perfection, we may

turn to his famous contemporary, Sebastian Brant, who, we shall find, corroborates it in every point, and almost word for word. Each saw the world with sober, healthy eyes, and prophesied dark things for the future, all of which were fully realised. Brant divided the different grades of human society into 113 classes of fools, packed them all into a ship, and while they sailed to Narragonia (Fool's Paradise) detailed the story of their separate follies with consummate wit.

From the Emperor down to the humblest cow-herd, a canker was eating into the life of the nation. The old forms still remained, but the spirit that had animated them had for the most part gone out of them, and they were doomed to crumble into dust at the slightest shock. It is true that in many ways the salt of the earth had lost its savour, and did little to arrest the decay of the moribund body; but it is also true that God had not left Himself without witnesses, and apostles like Geiler were raised up in plenty, to teach the way of holiness to men of good will. And this way was by no means that of destruction, but of edification, and Wimpfeling accentuates the need for a renewing of fervour among churchmen, not only for their own sakes, but that the laity may learn the Commandments.

Geiler was not so much absorbed by his crusade against moral abuses as to neglect other signs of the times—the various heresies that were to be the future war-cries of reformers yet unknown to the world. The fundamental principles of Protestantism by no means grew out of Luther's brain. For three hundred years already the Waldensians and the disciples of Wiclif and Huss had tried to sap the foundations of the Church, and had spread abroad doctrines which the sixteenth-century reformers found floating in the air and made their own. What individuals had long been whispering, Luther preached from the house-tops with fiery eloquence, and in concise form. He chose his battle-field cleverly: its land-marks were faith, indulgences, and good works. But Geiler had anticipated him, and before he propounded his heretical theses, they had been already refuted. With what power

and lucidity did the great Catholic reformer write of faith : " Faith is the foundation of all religion ; it enlightens the understanding, purifies the soul, strengthens and illuminates the whole man. It is the morning star which precedes the sun of righteousness ; it is the miraculous Star of Bethlehem, which leads to the Saviour of the world. Before all, it is necessary to hold fast in the spirit of faith the truths of revelation, as they are taught by the Church."

His discourses on holy Scripture are an answer to all the subsequent fallacies put forward by the reformers. Even at the present day, many Protestants are convinced that Luther discovered the Bible, and would be amazed to hear that in Geiler's day nearly a hundred editions of it had been printed, and that at least fifteen of these were in High German, and five in the Low German dialect. Often and earnestly did the preacher recommend his hearers the diligent study of the Scriptures, in order that they might learn therein the fear of God, hatred of sin, love of virtue, terror of hell, desire of heaven. Without hesitation, he classed the Bible together with the Holy Eucharist as one vessel from which must be received the source of Divine wisdom unto eternal life. But they must each be used in the right way, and here Geiler diverged completely from Protestant principles. He disapproved *in toto* of the private interpretation of Scripture : " Many carry their pride, envy, and other passions into their reading of the Bible, and prove it by the way in which they distort its meaning. But the Bible is not to blame for their errors. It has been explained by holy teachers, under the guidance of the same spirit who first inspired it, and we must follow their interpretation and not our own fancies, otherwise each individual might pretend to discover whatever suited him. . . . There are people who, when reprehended for their vices, reply : ' We understand Scripture differently from you.' "

But if he had to deal with unlearned people who thought themselves competent to determine the sense of every obscure passage in Scripture, the so-called modern opinions which are now flooding the world with unbelief, and which

are supposed to be the particular offspring of our own enlightened age, were not unknown to him. "There are others," he declares, "who think nothing of the Bible, but say that it is a thing imagined—a fable. I have heard them myself at court. They maintain that it is like a waxen nose that allows itself to be turned this way and that. Others, again, say that it is impossible to keep the Commandments; that man has no choice; and they deny that God gives to each sufficient grace. Providence is also denied; and chance, the *fate* of the old heathen world, is placed at the head of affairs. At the best, they say, we know nothing, and can know nothing about God."

Geiler answered the Babel of contentious voices by expounding the doctrines of the Catholic Church, original sin and its consequences, grace and its channels—the sacraments. He warned his hearers against unpractical and worse than useless dissertations on the manner of Christ's presence in the Holy Eucharist, and recommended in their place frequent communion, after the necessary preparation. He gave instructions on the manner of making a good confession, discoursing on contrition, purpose of amendment, satisfaction, and a change of life. He was careful to teach the difference between mortal and venial sin, and quoted the illustration of St. Augustine, who describes venial sin as a child belonging to a band of robbers, made use of to obtain entrance into a house through a very small aperture, in order that he may afterwards throw open the door to them. He translated into German a work of Gerson's, dealing with the Commandments, confession, and the art of holy dying, and distributed it among the people. How seldom the men and women of Strassburg had recourse in those days to the sacrament of Penance may be inferred from the fact that he considered a confession of four times a year, at the principal feasts, among frequent confessions.

Geiler's instructions on penance led naturally to discourses on the subject of indulgences, the rallying point of the enemies of the Church, more hated than any other doctrine, and certainly more open to abuse. His definition was exact and clear: "An indulgence is remission of a

debt. But of what kind of debt? Not a debt of mortal sin, for to gain an indulgence one is required to be free from every grave offence. Neither is it remission of eternal punishment, for in hell there is no escape possible; but it is remission of the temporal punishment which still remains to be borne, when contrition and confession have turned everlasting into temporal punishment. Nevertheless, personal works of penance should not be neglected, for the personal mortification a man inflicts upon himself is far better than that which he acquires of other people's merits, by means of an indulgence. One's own penance is, at the same time, an atonement for sins committed, and a preventative against a relapse into the same. It is wise to make use of both means."

Thus, Geiler stood on firm Catholic ground, even to the fiercely-attacked position of indulgences, soon to be made a *casus belli* against the whole Catholic world. His attitude in respect of images was no less clear: "If thou canst neither read nor write, take a picture in which Mary the Mother of God and Elizabeth are painted together, and Mary greets Elizabeth in Zachary's house. You can get one for a pfennig. Sit down and look at the picture; think how they rejoiced, and meditate on them in faith; and when thou hast done this, take pleasure in the thought. Then show them some reverence; kiss the picture; kneel before them and pray to them, or give an alms to a poor man for their sakes; in this way you shall honour the Mother of God and her cousin Elizabeth."

Geiler not only preached devotion to the Blessed Virgin, but was himself one of her most earnest and devout clients. He made a pilgrimage to her shrine at Einsiedeln, together with more than eight hundred persons. On this occasion he visited the Venerable Nicholas von der Flüe, hermit, and said to him, "Brother Nicholas, you lead a hard life, as I hear—harder than any Carthusian or any priest whatever. Do you not fear to err or fail therein?" Upon which the hermit replied: "If I have humility and faith I cannot err"; and Geiler was never weary of urging the necessity of these two virtues as guiding-stars in every good work.

We have dwelt at some length on the doctrines which

Geiler preached and wrote, and showed forth in his life, because, although Luther himself refrained from claiming kinship with his strivings after Catholic reforms, Luther's disciples have ever been less scrupulous in the matter, and he is often alluded to in Protestant writings as the sympathetic precursor of the great heresiarch of Germany. A very slight acquaintance with the man and his aims shows the utter absurdity of such a claim ; but some knowledge of his actual words was necessary in order to prove it. Meanwhile, we have left ourselves little space to speak of the personal influence which he exercised over his friends and immediate surroundings, although it formed a considerable feature of his life's work.

To his friends belonged, before all, the Schott family. Though not reckoned among the ancient nobility of Alsace, they had been represented in the councils of the Republic as far back as 1237, and were accounted patricians of Strassburg. Peter Schott, the Bürgermaster, who had secured Geiler for the Cathedral pulpit, was the last of the Catholic-minded chief magistrates who ruled the city. He had an only son, who had been brought up by the learned and pious Johann Müller of Rastadt, and who had won golden opinions, as well as honours at the University of Bologna. When Geiler arrived at Strassburg, young Schott was there also, his studies at Bologna having been interrupted by the plague, which had broken out at the University. He at once took him in hand, and a lasting friendship was formed between them. On Schott's return to Bologna, disciple and master kept up an interesting correspondence, of which the following extract will give some notion, although the original was written in elegant Latin. Geiler had given the young man a rule of life, and had compared the innumerable dangers by which he would be surrounded to a swarm of bees.

"The bees of which you speak," wrote Schott, "are more numerous than you would suppose. The more one beats them off, the more persistent they become. Flight is my one resource, and when I have escaped from them I shut the window carefully to keep them out of my room, despising their honey because I fear their sting."

In another letter, he touches lightly on Geiler's too faithful love of work.

"I know that my letter will find you in the midst of study and sermons, but this gives me the more courage to write freely, in order that my trivialities may cause you a little to unharness your mind, to which you never accord the least recreation." He reminds him of the suggestive example of Socrates, and continues: "I hope this year's fast will fall less heavily upon you, on account of the dispensation for eggs and butter, for I cannot think that you will refuse the favour offered, in spite of your stoical and immutable principles; but I trust that you will spare yourself for the sake of your labours. Otherwise, I fear you will go against the opinion of St. Jerome, in preferring a lesser good to a greater, for anyone can fast; but how will you, being exhausted bodily, fulfil your duties as a preacher? . . . I often vaunt the lot of my fellow-countrymen, to whom God has given such a master, and the more especially when I listen to the preachers of whom Italy is proud. They preach neither the Gospels nor the Fathers, but weave a broad web from philosophers and poets, and in order to magnify themselves, exasperate each other, challenge each other to dispute, call each other heretics, and justify themselves not by the integrity of their faith, but by the favour of their fellow-citizens. Having a contempt for these things, you preach the Word of God; but for that very reason, you should take care of your health, in order that your hearers may have you with them as long as possible."

His course of philosophy ended, Schott went to Ferrara to study Theology, and after overcoming manifold difficulties on the part of his family, was ordained priest in 1482. A canonry was procured for him at Strassburg, and he became Geiler's right hand and coadjutor in all his strenuous labours for reform. But an epidemic, supposed to be the plague, which appeared at Strassburg in the autumn of 1490, cut-short the promising young life. He was deeply mourned, not only in Alsace, but throughout Germany as a scholar, and a model of priestly virtue. Eight years after his death, his works were collected by

Wimpheling, at Geiler's request, and were published at Strassburg under the title, *Petri Schotti Lucubratiunculae ornatissimae*. They contain more than two hundred letters or memorials, dissertations, and other similar pieces, all in classical Latin, besides a considerable number of poems of a religious character.

Jakob Wimpheling, who, after Schott, was Geiler's most intimate friend, must undoubtedly be reckoned the first Alsatian humanist of his day. Born in 1450, he became a pupil of Ludwig Dringenberg, completed his studies at the Universities of Freiburg, Erfurt, and Heidelberg, and was a Licentiate of Theology in 1483, afterwards passing fourteen years as a preacher at Speyer, whose Bishop, Ludwig von Helmstadt, was one of the best princes of the Church in the fifteenth century. Wimpheling could not have been in a better school; the bishop was zealous for reform, held frequent diocesan synods and visitations; and when he died, the German Church lost one of its brightest ornaments. But Wimpheling, whose health was weakly, found the post of preacher too arduous, and aspired to a professorial chair. Like Peter of Blois, his maxim was *Extra universitatem non est vita*. He was appointed Professor of Literature at Heidelberg, and three years later was hospitably received by Geiler at Strassburg. The two men had striking points of resemblance with each other. Both were rough and somewhat harsh in manner, more inclined to severity than to mildness, and most at home on the battle-field. But those defects were largely discounted by true manliness, and a veritable passion for all that was good and holy, both being possessed of a boundless love for the Church and Fatherland. Wimpheling became in a certain sense Geiler's secretary, taking the place of the gentle, refined Peter Schott.

It would be difficult to overrate the combined influence of Geiler and Wimpheling on the revival of learning in Germany. Encouraged by Wimpheling, Abbot Trithemius wrote the first history of German literature, while both he and Geiler urged Thomas Wolf to compile his famous history of the City of Strassburg. Geiler inspired

Wimpheling to revise the hymns of the breviary, and caused him to write his spirited defence of the theologians against the attacks of a humanist of the new school, Jakob Locher.

If Geiler was the most celebrated preacher of his day, Wimpheling was the first pedagogue, and the improved method of teaching Latin in Germany in the beginning of the sixteenth century was mainly, perhaps entirely, owing to his works, *Elegantiae majores* and *Isidoneus germanicus*, while his *Adolescentia* was an epoch-marking book on the subject of education in the spirit of Christianity.

Such men as these would hardly be popular favourites in any age, but all the best and noblest among their contemporaries understood and valued them as they deserved. To themselves they seemed to fail, and it is true that all their mighty efforts were unavailing to avert the catastrophe which overwhelmed their country a few years later. But it is impossible not to see in each Catholic reformer that principle of vitality ever at work in the Church, producing men of the necessary fibre to testify to her divine mission in every crisis of her own and the world's history.

J. M. STONE.

Recent Decrees of the Congregation of Sacred Rites.

THE following decrees all relate to the ceremonies of Lent and Holy week :—

(1.) In nonnullis Monialium Oratoriis Feria V. in Coena Domini Cappellanus Missam celebrat sine cantu neque hostiam consecrat pro Missa Praesantificatorum. Expleta Missa, Sanctissimum extrahat e tabernaculo, Illumque in calice vel in pixide velo cooperto superius collocat ut per totam diem a Monialibus et ceteris fidelibus adoretur. Quaeritur : An ejusmodi praxis ab Episcopo permittenda seu toleranda sit : vel omnino prohibenda?

Resp. 30 Novembris, 1889, in Ruthenen n. 3716. "*Expositionem Sanctissimae Eucharistiae, de qua in casu prohibendam esse.*"

(2.) Quando Episcopus Feria V. in Coena Domini bis procedit ab Altari ad mensam pro sacris Oleis conficiendis et ad Altare regreditur, debetne uti baculo pastorali?

Resp. 20 Maii, 1890, in Montes Politiani ad 4 n. 3731. "*Affirmative.*"

(3.) Si Sabbato Sancto fiat sacra Ordinatio, dicendae sunt ne Litaniae in Missali pro tali die assignatae ; vel illae consuetae quae habentur in Pontificali Romano?

Resp. ibidem ad 6 : "Dicendae sunt in casu Litaniae in Missali assignatae, additis quae Episcopus proferre debet super Ordinandos post v. *ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis, etc.*"

(4.) Potestne tolerari quod in Officio Ferae IV., V., et VI. Majoris Hebdomadae cantus Lamentationum, Responsariorum et Psalmi *Miserere* fiat simul cum sono Organi aut aliorum instrumentorum ; et quod perdurante expositione Sanctissimi Sacramenti, concinantur versiculi (*mottetti*) pariter cum sono organi aut aliorum instrumentorum musicalium, sive horis vespertinis Ferae V. sive de mane Ferae VI. ejusdem Majoris Hebdomadae?

Resp. 16 Junii, 1893, in Goana ad 2 n. 3804. "Negative, quoad Lamentationes, Responsoria, et Psalmum *Miserere*, nec

non ad reliquas liturgicas partes : quoad vero versiculos coram Sanctissimo Sacramento tolerari posse, attenta antiqua consuetudine."

(5.) *Decretum Generale.*

"Octavas quascumque in Quadragesima in posterum non esse concedendas ; indultae vero ab antiquo aevo, non solum in Feriae IV. Cinerum atque in Dominica Passionis, sed etiam in omnibus aliis Dominiciis Quadragesimae esse omnino intermittendas vel abrumpendas. Per integram denique Majorem Hebdomadam omnes prorsus octavae interdictae, etiam privilegiatis quibuscumque, maneant. Ampliora hactenus, si quae fuerint, privilegio octavarum pro vetito tempore Sacra Rituum Congregatio revocata per Decretum praesens declarat."

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 21 Maii, 1894, n. 3826.

(6.) I. Utrum in Altari in quo Feria V. et VI. Majoris Hebdomadae publicae adorationi exponitur et asservatur Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum, repraesentetur sepultura Domini : an institutio Sanctissimi Sacramenti ?

II. Utrum liceat ad exornandum praedictum Altare adhibere statuas aut picturas, nempe Beatissimae Virginis, S. Joannis Evangelistae, S. Mariae Magdalenae et militum custodum, aliaque hujusmodi ?

Resp. 15 Dec., 1896, in Romana ad 1 et 2 n. 3939 :

Ad I. : "*Utrumque.*"

Ad II. : "*Negative.*" Poterunt tamen Episcopi, ubi antiqua consuetudo vigeat, hujusmodi repraesentationes tolerare : caveant autem ne novae consuetudines hac in re introducantur.

(7.) I. An Feria V. in Coena Domini in Ecclesiis Parochialibus aliisque non Parochialibus celebrari possit Missa lecta vel cum cantu, quin peragantur functiones Feriae VI. in Parasceve et Sabbati Sancti."

II. An praedicta Missa legi vel decantari possit in Ecclesiis vel Oratoriis spectantibus ad Regulares, ad Seminaria et ad Pias Communitates ?

Resp. 9 Decembris, 1899, in Comen., ad 1 et 2, n. 4049 :

Ad I. : "In Ecclesiis Parochialibus ubi adest fons baptismalis servantur Rubricae Missalis et Decreta, adhibito Memoriali Rituum Benedicti Papae XIII., pro functionibus praescriptis, si extet defectus sacrorum ministrorum et clericorum. In aliis vero Ecclesiis non Parochialibus omitti potest functio Sabbati Sancti, non tamen illa Feria VI. in Parasceve ; et fiat Sepulchrum : expetita-facultate pro usu dicti *Memorialis*, si idem sacrorum ministrorum et clericorum defectu existat."

Ad II. : "Affirmative quoad Regulares proprie dictos, juxta Decretum sub n. 2799 die 31 Augusti, 1839 ; negative, quoad

Seminaria et Pias Communitates nisi habeatur Apostolicum Indultum."

(8.) An publicae Fidelium adorationi proponi queat Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum etiam post Missam Praesantificationum?

Resp. ibidem ad 3: "Negative; et servantur Rubricae et Decreta."

(9.) An cum Hostia consecrata quae reservatur pro dicta Missa Praesantificationum, reponi possit in urnula seu sepulchro pixis cum particulis consecratis, si opus fuerit pro infirmis?

Resp. ibidem ad 4: "Negative; et servantur Rubricae et Decreta."

(10.) I. An benedictio sollemnis fontis Baptismalis possit vel debeat fieri Sabbato Sancto in Oratorio publico missionis in quo quidem administratur Baptismus, sed in quo non extat fons Baptismalis proprie dictus ad portam Oratorii? Et quatenus negative.

(II.) An saltem Sabbato Sancto aqua baptismalis privatim, breviori formula utendo, consecrari debeat; vel potius antea consecrata, adhuc inservire possit.

Resp. 19 Aprilis, 1810, in Vicariatus Apostolici Victoriae Nyanzensis ad 1 et 2, n. 3724.

Ad I.: Negative.

Ad II.: Negative ad primam partem: nisi obtineatur facultas ab Apostolica Sede. Affirmative ad secundam, si non adsit nova aqua benedicta.

Decrees Relating to the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist.

(1.) Utrum tolerari possit quod Sacerdos Cotta et Stola, vel Alba Cingulo et Stola tantum indutus, peragat expositionem et repositionem SSmi. Sacramenti: aut populo cum Ostensorio benedicat: aut SS.mum Sacramentum in Processionibus Sanctissimi Corporis Christi portet; an potius teneatur ad usum pluvialis in omnibus caeremoniis, in quibus ceteri Sacerdotes, haud Cappucini, pluviali portare debent?

Resp. 7 Decembris, 1888, in Ordinis Minorum Capucinnorum S. Francisci ad 12, n. 3697.

"Si agatur de expositione et repositione SS. Sacramenti, sufficit ut Sacerdos Cotta et Stola sit indutus; nunquam cum Alba Cingulo et Stola tantum. In processionibus et benedictione cum SS. Sacramento in Ostensorio impertienda, omnino requiritur ut celebrans pluviale et velum humerale induat sicuti cautum est Decreto in una Taurinen, die 22 Junii, 1874."

(2.) Num tolerari possit consuetudo exponendi SS.mum Sacramentum et coram eo Missam celebrandi (occasione Novemdialis) in qua fit post Evangelium praedicatio Verbi Dei et

plerumque de Sanctis ; et in qua populus frequens accedit ad Sacram Synaxim."

Resp. 10 Maii in Montis Regalis, ad 2, n. 3728 : "Affirmative : apposito tamen velamine ante SS. mam Eucharistiam dum habetur concio."

(3.) An quando immediate post Missam solemnem exponitur SS. Sacramentum pro cantu Hymni *Te Deum* vel pro aliis precibus (aut etiam simpliciter pro adoratione Ejusdem ad plures horas duratura), liceat Celebranti benedictionem quoque cum eodem SSmo Sacramento in fine datur, retinere Casulam cum Manipulo ; vel debeat potius assumere pluviale ?

Resp. 6 Februarii, 1892, in Lincien, ad 8, n. 3764 : "Negative ad primam partem : affirmative ad secundam."

(4.) An in administranda infirmis S. Communione non per modum Viatici servandae sunt tam extra quam intra cubiculum infirmi omnes Caeremoniae a Rituali praeceptae pro administratione Viatici exceptis tantum verbis : *Accipe Frater* vel *Soror*.

Resp. 13 Februarii, 1892, in Calaguritana et Calceaten, ad Dubia additionalia ad 3, n. 3767 : "Affirmative juxta Ritualis Romani praescripta, exceptis excipiendis.

(5.) An in deferenda Communione infirmis qui, licet gravi morbo non laboret, ad Ecclesiam tamen nequeunt accedere, recitari debeant Psalmus *Miserere* per viam nec non *V. Pax huic domui* et Antiphonae *Asperges* cum *VV.* et Oratione *Exaudi nos* in cubiculo infirmi : et demum, data Communione, alia Oratio *Domine Sancte, etc.*, ut in Rituali.

Resp. 19 Februarii, in Megellen ad 2, No. 3769 : "Affirmative."

(6.) Rituale Romanum optioni administrantis S. Communionem relinquit, utrum antiphonam *O Sacrum Convivium, etc.*, recitare velit nec ne ; sed ex Rubrica erui non potest, num versiculi et Oratio *Deus qui nobis* sint etiam ad libitum ; vel omnino de praecepto ; et si Affirmative ad secundam partem, quaeritur : num benedictio manu dextra et adhibita formula : *Benedictio, etc.* Semper sit elargienda, quando citra Missam administratur S. Communio.

Resp. ibidem in Strigonien 30 Augusti, 1892, ad 10.

"Versiculi et Oratio *Deus qui nobis* sunt de praecepto ; benedictio autem semper danda est (unico excepto casu quando datur immediate ante vel post Missam defunctorum) sub formula *Benedictio Dei, etc.*

(7.) An liceat Sacerdoti pro sua privata devotione Tabernaculum aperire pro adorando Sacramento, precibus ad libitum fundendis ac postea illud claudere ?

Resp. 17 Julii, 1894. Dubiosum ad 2, n. 3832. "Negative."

Science Notices.

The Glasgow Meeting of the British Association.—The Presidential Address.—Considering the dual attractions of a well-organised exhibition and the proceedings of a British Association's meeting, it was expected that the Glasgow meeting would have been conspicuous by an exceptionally large concourse of members and associates. But these hopes were not fulfilled, and the Glasgow meeting could not boast of a larger figure than that of 1900. The fact raises the question as to whether the British Association has entered into the period of decadence. Reflection, however, will show that there were special reasons in the case of the Glasgow meeting to account for a smaller attendance than had been anticipated. The numerous scientific congresses which were held in connection with the Exhibition were doubtless the principal means of diminishing the attendance of scientific celebrities at the Association. Especially against the interests of the latter was the International Engineering Congress, which considerably weakened the proceedings of the engineering section of the Association—a section which is usually strong in the numbers attending it, and in the quality of its transactions. As a matter of fact, several valuable papers which would, under ordinary circumstances, have been read before the engineering section, had been read instead at one or other of the Congress sectional meetings.

One of the principal local events in connection with the meeting was the opening by Lord Lister of the new anatomical department of Glasgow University, comprising an extensive laboratory and museum. The building, which is the gift of the trustees of the late Mr. J. B. Thomson, may boast of being one of the finest of its kind in the world. The museum is enriched by the present of Professor Cleland of his large collection of anatomical specimens.

The presidential address of Professor A. W. Rucker was limited to a defence of the atomic theory, which of late has had its assailants, but which, in the President's opinion, "unifies so many facts, simplifies so much that is complicated, that we have a right to insist—at all events, till an equally intelligible rival hypothesis is produced—that the main structure of our theory is true; that atoms are not merely helps to puzzled mathematicians, but physical realities."

Speaking of the range of the atomic theory, Professor Rucker lays stress on the words of Dr. Thorpe, in his essays on historical chemistry, that "every great advance in chemical knowledge during the last ninety years finds its interpretation in Dalton's theory." From physical phenomena also the atomic theory claims justification, for the principal mechanical and thermal properties of gases have been explained and in large part discovered by the use of the theory. Not that there are no difficulties; but these are related to the nature of the atoms and molecules, and do not affect the question as to whether they exist.

The fact that different kinds of light all travel at the same speed in inter-planetary space, while they move at different rates in matter, is explained if matter is coarse-grained. The Professor did not attempt to sum up all the evidence which physical science could contribute in support of the atomic theory. To do this would be "to recite a text-book on physics." He gave, however, two well-chosen instances of the potency of the atomic theory to explain physical phenomena.

1. When a piece of iron is magnetised, its behaviour varies according as the magnetic force applied to it is weak, moderate, or strong. When a certain limit is passed the iron behaves as a non-magnetic substance to all further additions of magnetic force. When strong forces are used the iron remains magnetised when the force ceases to act; but with only weak forces it does not. Professor Ewing imitated the minutest details of these complicated properties by an arrangement of small isolated compass needles to represent the molecules. Thus, as far as this particular set of phenomena is concerned, a most instructive working model, based on the molecular theory, has not only been imagined but constructed.

2. We may liken a crowd of molecules to a fog. No one doubts that a fog is made up of separate globules of water, but the critics of scientific method sometimes regard molecules as fictions. If, however, the molecules of a highly-rarefied gas

could be thrown into such a state that vapour condensed on them, so that each became the centre of a water-drop, "till the host of invisible molecules was, as it were, magnified by accretion into a visible mist," this circumstance would be the strongest possible proof of their reality. In Professor Rucker's opinion, such a circumstance has been realised in the experiments of Mr. T. R. Wilson and Professor J. J. Thompson. It is comparatively difficult to produce a fog in damp air if the mixture consists of air and water vapour alone. It is the presence of fine dust particles that is known to facilitate the process. A nucleus of some kind is necessary on which the vapour may condense. But electrified particles also act as nuclei. For instance, if a highly-charged body from which electricity is escaping is placed near a steam jet, the steam condenses, and a cloud is formed in dust-free air.

It is now accepted that when a current of electricity flows through a gas, some of the atoms are divided into parts which carry positive and negative charges as they move in opposite directions, and unless this breaking-up occurs, a gas does not conduct electricity. A gas can be made a conductor merely by allowing the Röntgen rays and the radiation given off by uranium to fall on it. A study of the facts would point to the probability that some of the atoms have been broken up by the radiation, and that these oppositely electrified parts are scattered amongst their unaltered fellows. Such a gas is said to be ionised.

Professor Rucker considers that by these two distinct lines of argument we come to the conclusions: "First, that the presence of electrified particles promotes the formation of mist; and, second, that in an ionised gas such electrified particles are provided by the breaking-up of atoms.

"The two conclusions will mutually support each other if it can be shown that a mist is easily formed in ionised air. This was tested by Mr. Wilson, who showed that in such air mist is formed as though nuclei were present, and thus in the cloud we have visible evidence of the presence of the divided atoms. If, then, we can handle the individual molecules, we have at least some reason to believe that a method is known of seizing individuals, or parts of individuals, which are in a special state, and of wrapping other matter round them, till each one is the centre of a discrete particle of a visible fog."

These two illustrations were purposely chosen because the

explanation is based on a theory—that of ionisation—which is at present subjected to criticism. This theory assumes that an electrical current is nothing more than the movement of charges of electricity. But magnets placed near an electric current tend to place themselves at right angles to its direction; on this fact the construction of telegraphic instruments is based. If the theory is true, a similar effect ought to be produced by a moving charge of electricity. Many years ago Rowland tried the experiment in the laboratory of Helmholtz, and caused a charged disc to spin rapidly near a magnet. The result was, in his experience, in accord with the theory; the magnet moved as though acted upon by an electric current. This matter has, however, been recently re-investigated by M. Crémieu, who has obtained results which, according to his interpretation, are inconsistent with those of Rowland. Professor Rucker pointed out that if M. Crémieu's results are upheld our views of electricity may have to be modified, but nevertheless the foundations of the atomic theory would remain unshaken.

The President gave vent to his opinion that from the theory of ions the most far-reaching speculations of science have recently received unexpected support. From it we can gather support for the modern supposition that matter of all kinds is fundamentally the same. This subject was, however, treated in the notice in this REVIEW, entitled "The Magnetic Perturbations of the Spectral Lines" (April, 1901).

M. Santos Dumont's Navigable Balloon Experiments.—

It may be said without exaggeration that the experiments of M. Santos Dumont have done more to awaken a general interest in aerial navigation than those of many other aeronauts. Not that they show any advance in principle on the experiments of Captains Krebs and Renard in 1885. The advance is one of practice only. M. Santos Dumont is the first aeronaut who has steered a balloon from a given point around a given object and back again up to time. To accomplish the conditions for winning the now famous Deutsch prize, he has had, on more than one occasion, to risk his life, once having had to fall with his air-ship a distance of 2,000 feet, which is twice the height of the Eiffel Tower.

But the experiments have taken place in calm weather, or, at any rate, in very light breezes; and the air-ship has still to be

invented which can navigate the air against a wind of any considerable dimensions. In the conditions for winning the Deutsch prize there was no mention of the wind force. Thus the competitor was free to choose a day of almost absolute calm if he wished. This was the weak part of the conditions for such a competition. To advance scientifically aeronautics by means of such competitions a definite wind force should be fixed. Not that there would be no difficulties in fixing such a force, as the wind force varies not only from moment to moment, but at different elevations.

During four years the intrepid Brazilian aeronaut has evolved no less than six navigable balloons, each type marking stages of progress in detail. He is now at work on a seventh, in which the motive power is to be forty-five horse-power instead of twenty as before, and the screw fifteen feet.

M. De Fonvielle, who is an acknowledged expert on these questions, considers one of the most important features of M. Santos Dumont's balloon is the ballonnet, or small balloon, inside the large one, which he fills with air by means of a fan, to keep the envelope of the balloon in a rigid condition when it gets flabby by loss of gas. The maintenance of the rigidity is an essential part of his system, and its importance was proved by the accident of August 8th, when the balloon lost its rigidity and got entangled with the machinery, with the result that M. Santos Dumont was compelled to precipitate himself on the roof of the Trocadero Hotel. It is M. De Fonvielle's opinion that the ballonnet dispenses with the cumbersome aluminium cage which was the prominent feature of Count Zeppelin's airship.

The Eclipse Cyclone.—A series of meteorological observations were taken at the time of the total solar eclipse on May 28th, 1900, throughout that part of the United States where the total eclipse occurred, between New Orleans and Norfolk. These observations form the subject of a paper recently read before the Royal Meteorological Society by Mr. H. H. Clayton. They were sufficient to furnish evidence of a cyclonic circulation at the time of the eclipse, and if this theory of an eclipse cyclone is accepted, it further explains the double barometric daily oscillation by a theory of diurnal cyclones, and would elucidate some phenomena in the cyclones and anticyclones of temperate latitudes. The observations were made with sling or

aspiration psychrometers and portable wind vanes and anemometers, those used at Washington being self-recording. The four observing stations were Washington, Ga.; Wadesboro', N.C.; Centerville, Va.; and Virginia Reach, Va. Observations were also obtained, and have been utilised in drawing conclusions, from five well-equipped meteorological observatories in North America, and partial records from three other stations.

To properly isolate the eclipse meteorological phenomena from longer changes, such as diurnal and cyclonic, a uniform change was interpolated from beginning to end of the eclipse, and afterwards subtracted from the observations. The wind velocity and direction was computed at Washington, Wadesboro', and Blue Hill by formulæ quoted by Mr. Clayton in his paper; at the remaining stations the graphic solution was retained, as owing to the lack of sufficiency of detail in the observations, the error of plotting was less than the errors arising from this want of detail. This insufficiency arose from the wind directions being recorded to eight or sixteen points of the compass only, and not in degrees; also, at one or two of the observatories such a small time-scale was used for recording wind velocities as to prevent great accuracy. Mr. Clayton points out that, on account of the small changes caused by the eclipse in the prevailing winds, observations to eight points of the compass are not sufficient; he urges that in future eclipse observations of wind direction, such an instrument as Draper's anemoscope should be used, permitting reading to degrees of azimuth. Wind velocity should be recorded sufficiently in detail to be read to tenths of a mile, and the anemometer should, if possible, record velocities of one mile an hour. For pressure changes Mr. Clayton especially advocates the use of a delicate air barograph with a large time-scale, as was used at Toronto on this occasion. Its air-chamber was sunk in the ground for several feet to protect it from changes of air temperature, so that it recorded the changes in atmospheric pressure for a brief interval very accurately.

The eclipse winds, when determined as stated, showed clearly an outflow of wind from the "umbra," meaning the area of total eclipse; and an inflow around the "penumbra," meaning the area of partial eclipse. These winds were plotted on a map of the United States for 8.15 a.m., 75th meridian time, when the umbra was about to enter the American continent, and were also plotted for 9 a.m., when the umbra

was passing off. The two charts show a reversal of the winds as the umbra moved from one side of the continent to the other, and there is evidence of an anticyclonic outflow to about 1,500 miles from the centre of the penumbra. Diagrams and plottings from the various stations show the air circulation to have been the same, and Mr. Clayton deduces therefrom that it followed the eclipse shadow and was produced by it.

The changes in eclipse atmospheric pressure are small, and there have been in the past conflicting opinions as to their reality. One well-known American writer had stated that in future eclipses observers might leave their barometers at home. But from the observations made last year, and from the observations of former eclipses (1887, 1889, and 1893), after subtracting the changes due to other causes, there remains a real though minute change of pressure. "It is seen from these figures that the extreme change from the *plus* to the *minus* departures during the eclipse is only a few thousandths of an inch, rarely amounting to as much as .01 inch. . . . The curves show distinctly a maximum pressure about the time of totality, on each side of which are minima of pressure, and outside of the penumbra on each side are maxima of pressure. These minima and maxima are probably parts of a ring of minimum and maximum pressure surrounding the eclipse, and are in perfect accord with the distribution of pressure indicated by the winds. . . ."

The distributions of pressure established are explained by Ferrel's theory of a cold air cyclone.

Mr. Clayton sums up that a fall of temperature can set up a cold air cyclone in a surprisingly short time, with all the resulting peculiar circulation of winds and distribution of pressure, and that a fall of temperature primarily sets up, not an anticyclone, but a cyclone, the anticyclone being part of the cyclone.

From the velocities observed, the changes of pressure are to be ascribed to the deflective influence of the earth's rotation acting on air moving but a short distance.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

An English View of the Panama Canal.—The purpose of Sir Martin Conway's recent book ("The Bolivian Andes." London & New York : Harper Brothers) is, as set forth by him, "to give some description of the mountains and high plateaux of Bolivia, the least known of all South American countries, to the remainder of the civilised world." Incidentally, he gives some interesting information in regard to affairs on the Isthmus of Panama, at the date of his visit in the autumn of 1898. Starting from Colon, the site of which is characterised as a rank tropical swamp only partially reclaimed, the train runs past rows of dredges in the water, and fields of abandoned machinery on land, rusty rails and boilers, sheds full of derelict engines, and rows of dilapidated trucks. The estimate of fifty millions sterling for the completed work had been, in 1888, at the end of five years, exceeded by some ten millions, while no more than a third of the work was accomplished. The assets of the company when it went into liquidation were no more than fourteen millions, including the Panama Railway, and the new company had to build upon a wreck. The original design of an open strait, after being first abandoned in favour of a lake and a lock canal, has been repeatedly modified, and the contemplated width of the water-way has been reduced. The present company has done much substantial work. It has dredged the mouth of the Rio Grande, and carried a deep-water channel three miles out to sea ; it has built a pier and port near Panama, and has deepened the Emperador and Culebra cuttings. This latter work, one of the main difficulties, owing to the instability of the soil, was reported by Sir Martin Conway as practically complete, leaving no doubt as to its practicability ; but the second great problem, that of restraining the flood waters of the Chagres, remained still to be solved. Either a lake must be formed by embanking its valley at Gatun so as to hold up its sudden spates, or

its course must be reversed by carrying it through a tunnel to the Pacific instead of the Atlantic slope. Despite these difficulties, Sir Martin came to the conclusion that the canal will be finished at no very distant date, and without any large expenditure of money, whether the rival water-way at Nicaragua be constructed or not.

Lake Titicaca and the Bolivian Plateau.—Lake Titicaca, the largest in South America, and in some respects one of the most remarkable in the world, is reached by railway from Lima over a pass 14,666ft. high. With an area of over three thousand square miles, lying 12,516ft. above the sea, it is half the size of Lake Ontario, and fourteen times that of the Lake of Geneva. Receiving the tribute of twenty streams in its length of a hundred miles, it gives rise to no river, for though the Desaguadera flows slowly out of it to Lake Poopo, fifty leagues to the south-east, the system ends with this secondary basin, from which there is no surface outflow. The shores of Titicaca, ringed with ice in the morning, are scorched by day under the glare of the fierce equatorial sun, though the harsh and arid plateau in which it is set is clad in no glory of tropical vegetation. The beauty of the scenery is due to the snow peaks on the horizon, one of which, Mount Sorata, though eighty miles away, seems to rise direct from its waters. Like most inland expanses, it has shrunk even in historic times, and in one direction, has retreated six miles in the course of three centuries. At a more remote, but still comparatively recent, geological epoch it formed part of a gigantic high-level basin, extending as far as 27 degrees S. On the islands of Titicaca, called the Sun and Moon, tradition locates the birth-places of the legendary founders of Inca civilisation, and it was the people of these islands, still covered with ruins dating from the time of their ancient rulers, who gradually extended their power over the inhabitants of the plateau. The lake is separated from the valley of La Paz by a low ridge leading up to a sudden drop of 1,600ft., where the town lies in the scoop of a great cauldron some ten miles each way, like the crater of an extinct volcano. Except in the neighbourhood of the town, where artificial irrigation is practised, there is little vegetation, and all is dry and bare. As La Paz is situated close on 12,000ft. above sea level, the traveller on first arriving has to undergo a process of seasoning by enduring a bout of the *sorocche*,

or mountain sickness, consisting of headache, lassitude, and general indisposition, lasting about twenty-four hours. Once over, it does not in healthy people recur, unless after they have again descended to lower altitudes, though some never become habituated to the diminished atmospheric pressure.

Effects of Mountain Air.—Sir Martin Conway is of opinion that all suffer a diminution of strength from the greater exertion of breathing at high levels, and that this effect is felt much lower than is generally imagined. In horses it is even more apparent than in men, and the author thinks that an altitude of even two thousand feet tells upon them, while sportsmen, familiar with racing at different levels, say that every thousand feet above that height has a markedly increased effect. A horse trained at Valparaiso cannot win a race at Santiago, 2,000ft. higher; and at La Paz the limit that the animal can gallop is 500 metres, and even that distance imposes a severe strain on its powers, unless acclimatised by several months residence in the higher air. Thus a valuable horse brought up from Chile, and made to race within a week or two, died next day of the exertion. A height of 16,500ft. is, according to the author, the greatest at which a horse or mule can carry a man over fairly easy ground, at any rate, in South America; and at about the same altitude, he thinks, travellers in Tibet have to discard them in favour of yaks, though horses in Sikkim are said to be ridden up to 18,000ft. This diminution in strength is quite distinct from the mountain sickness, which may be got over by acclimatisation.

Bolivian Indians —The natives of Bolivia are, in the author's view, ineradicably hostile to the white man. In the remote regions, glances of sullen resentment greeted the travellers, and no salutations were vouchsafed. The attempt to survey with a theodolite was resented with actual violence, being regarded by the more ignorant as a profanation of their sacred places, and by the more intelligent as a preliminary to the construction of a road or railway. "We want no roads," said one, "and we want no railways; we want nothing but to left alone as we are." Whenever Indian risings have taken place they have been accompanied by fearful atrocities, and repressed with sanguinary reprisals. As the Indians far outnumber the whites, the latter are checked in any tendency to revolt against their own government by fear of the subject race.

Artesian Wells in Australia.—"The Water Supply of Australia" was the subject of a paper read at a recent meeting of the Colonial Institute by Mr. Gibbons Cox. He pointed out the connection between the configuration of the continent and the droughts to which it is liable, assigning them mainly to two causes, the low altitude of the mountain ranges and the absorptive nature of the soil. The rivers are reduced in the dry season to mere chains of pools, save in the Darling-Murray system, in which promise of agricultural success is to be found. But in many places, and notably in Queensland, the subterranean supply has been utilised to counteract the deficiency of the surface waters, and that colony now reckons 839 bores representing an aggregate of close upon 100,000ft. of boring, while the continuous yield from 315 of these wells is 321,653,629 gallons per day. Stock to the value of hundreds of thousands of pounds have already been saved by the artesian water, and the benefit likely to be derived from it in the future will be still greater. He asserted, in short, that the subterranean water store will prove of infinitely greater value to Queensland than all the gold mines hitherto discovered.

An Experiment in South African Irrigation.—The completion is announced of the great Matoppos dam, built by Mr. Rhodes for the irrigation of his farm near Buluwayo. The latter lies on the northern edge of the mountains within eighteen miles of the township, and is intersected by the valley of a tributary of the Malima river. The stream is filled only in the rainy season, and during the remaining eight months of the year is dry, like the parched and arid land around it. The conservation of its flood waters by a dam closing the exit of the valley will enable them to be utilised for irrigation in the dry season, fertilising the valley during the entire year. From 2,000 to 3,000 acres of fertile soil will be thus reclaimed at a cost, for the earthwork, of about £30,000, and, for the canalisation of the stream, of £35,000. The reservoir will contain some nine hundred million gallons, a sufficient reserve of water to render a large area productive. An experiment on a small scale last year gave satisfactory results, and a good crop of lucerne was raised from 50 acres, irrigated with the artificially impounded water.

Sir Harry Johnston on Uganda.—Sir Harry Johnston, at the Royal Geographical Society, on November 11th, delivered a singularly interesting lecture on "The Uganda Protectorate, Ruwenzori, and the Semliki Forest." Dividing the Pro-

tectorate into six provinces—the Eastern, Rudolf, Central, Nile, Kingdom of Uganda, and Western—he described each in turn. Of the Nandi plateau, extending from the buttresses of Mount Elgon on the north, to the German frontier on the south, he drew a most attractive picture, declaring that this lofty Equatorial region, lying at altitudes varying from 5,000 to 10,000 feet above the sea, and larger than Wales, has not a single ugly or unfriendly spot, and seems to be awaiting the advent of a European race to make it a wonderland of wealth and comfort. From its breezy heights, or through the foliage of woods which might be those of Surrey, strange glimpses can be caught at a distance of ninety miles of the silvery gulfs and ghostly shores of the great Victoria Nyanza. The caverns which honeycomb the cliffs girdling Mount Elgon were first discovered by Mr. Joseph Thomson, whose visit is still remembered by the natives. From the north-east of Elgon to the Ravine Station the Commissioner travelled for 16 days without a guide, through a land whose only human inhabitants were some nomad tribes, but which on the other hand swarmed with game. Large herds of elephant were first sighted, then rhinoceroses, and later countless hartebeeste, water-buck and other varieties of antelope. Lions, leopards, warthogs, jackals, and ostriches were among the animals seen, and the caravan was followed by herds of zebras, snorting and kicking up their heels. It was in this region, on the plateau where the acacia forest still lingers, that the five-horned giraffe was found, which is supposed to be a new species, and of which four specimens, two male and two female, were secured for the British Museum. The adults, seen from a distance, seemed to be white above and black below, conspicuous when posted as sentries on the tops of anthills or other eminences. The traveller journeyed for three days through the Semliki Forest, and visited the pygmies in their homes, where they construct tiny shelter huts of leaves and withies. Here were found, too, a strange ape-like people, who seem to dwell like pariahs on the fringe of other tribes. Here, too, the okapi and other new mammals were discovered, and it was ascertained that the gorilla in its range approaches the Semliki Forest. Ankole, the south-western portion of the Protectorate, is another elevated region rising to 8,000 and 9,000ft. above sea-level. Among its mountains are countless crater-lakes, nearly all containing fish, and surrounded by scenery to which the epithet “extravagantly beautiful” is

applied. Here the Ba-hima aristocracy are as light in colour as Egyptians, and possess herds of large long-horned cattle like those depicted in Egyptian frescoes. On the Ruwenzori range the snow-line lies as low as 13,000ft., and the highest summit would, in the estimation of the traveller, be found to attain to an altitude of not less than 20,000ft.

New Trade Route from India to Persia.—Major Molesworth Sykes, British Consul of Kerman and British Beluchistan, gave the Royal Geographical Society an interesting account of his preliminary efforts to open up the new trade route with Persia *via* Seistan. The first step was to bridge the gap in postal communications between British India and Birjand, where the Persian system ends. A letter from India now reaches Birjand in three weeks, and Meshed in a month, whereas by the Persian post *via* Bushirè and Teheran two months might be required. When the country had been thoroughly surveyed and explored, he was instructed to organise a trial caravan to Quetta. Carpets, the finest in the world, which had never before been exported to India, formed the bulk of the venture. With two Baluch levies to act as guard, and samples of silks, saffron, homespun, and pistachio, the little pioneer caravan started. Fortune smiled on it, as his Excellency the Viceroy happened to visit Quetta at the time of its arrival, and the purchases he made were so considerable, and drew such attention to the caravan, that the carpets were all sold at a handsome profit. In 1900, the second and much more important caravan was equally successful, so he now considered the trade established to the great benefit of Indo-Persian relations. It now remains for the tea-planters to take advantage of a route by which sea-carriage is avoided, while the indigo grown in Sind, whence Persia is supplied, should also travel by it. With these two staples there would also be an opening for other British goods, as the country tapped is an extensive one, giving an outlook for development not only in Eastern Persia, but in the Garmsil of Afghanistan, and in British and Persian Beluchistan. As regards the through trade with Central Asia *via* Meshed, the Government of India has come to its aid by the remission of all customs and dues, as well as by granting a rebate on the heavy charges of the Quetta Railway on all goods intended for export.

Notes on Higher Education of Women.

CANON VALENTIN ON THE INTELLECTUAL DUTY OF WOMEN.*

CANON VALENTIN is the Prince Rupert of the feministic controversy in France. It is to be hoped that he will not damage his cause by pursuing his opponents too hotly and too far. He has lately been delivering a serio-comic lecture to ladies at Pau, under the impression, doubtless, that some pleas are best laughed out of court. We are met on the threshold with a formula expressing the intellectual position of woman in former times. "During her education she did not learn much, and during her life she forgot what she had learnt during her education." He says that ignorance was considered almost one of the duties of her state, and that a conscientious woman would fulfil that duty no less than all her other duties. But now a change has come, and a movement has set in which will certainly continue, and which Mgr. d'Hulst, of saintly, scientific, and apostolic memory, with many other eminent and holy men, laboured to accelerate. Then comes the joke about the twelfth Council of Mâcon. The Canon says :

"You have souls, ladies ; that is quite certain, even if the twelfth Council of Mâcon, held in 585 or 588, defined the contrary. But is that true? Gregory of Tours, in his History of France, relates that at the Council of Mâcon a bishop, one only, asked—and all his colleagues answered affirmatively—asked, I say, not at all whether a woman had a soul, but whether the term *homo* could be understood of a woman as well as of a man. The question which he put, then, was one of philology, not of theology, and I have already said that a unanimous reply was given, to the effect that the term *homo*, like the French term

* Conference donnée à l'école de l'Immaculée-Conception de Pau, le vendredi 8 février, 1901. Par Chanoine Valentin. Published in *L'Université Catholique*. 15 Mai. Burns and Oates.

humanité, and the Greek substantive *ἄνθρωπος*, can be applied to a woman quite as well as to a man. And now, ladies," he continues, "now that I have given you back your souls, we can begin to argue."

The arguing consists at first of intellectual fireworks, about the appropriateness of which opinions will vary. After a while, however, the Canon settles down into seriousness, and shows that the claim which he is advancing for the higher education of women is founded upon the Sacred Scriptures. He says :

"Let us consult the Bible, the true patent of woman's nobility. In Genesis i. 27, 28, we read : 'God created man (*hominem*) to His own image and likeness : male and female He created them : and God blessed them and said : Increase and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it.' Here we have unity of origin : God the Creator of man and of woman ; the same dignity, the same divine likeness, the same blessing, the same grace granted for the fulfilment of the same mission. The mission is common to both, so much so, that it is in the plural that the sacred writer speaks—*crescite, subjicite*. And in the second chapter of the same book the Divine Historian is still more explicit. 'It is not good,' He says, 'that man should be alone : let us make him a help like to himself.'"

Then, after referring to the distinction drawn by some between *likeness* and *equality*, the Canon continues :

"Well ! the Holy Ghost has become His own commentator. It is in the seventeenth chapter of Ecclesiasticus that one ought to look for the interpretation of the passage about which we disagree. The genuine charter of the dignity of woman's intelligence is there : no passage has affirmed more distinctly the equality of the sexes and the community of attributes—'God drew from man the helpmate which He gave him, the woman. This helpmate is like him.' And then, passing suddenly from the singular to the plural by an anacoluthon full of meaning—'He gave *them*,' you will notice he says, '*He gave them wisdom* and language (*consilium et linguam*) : He gave *them* the power of thinking (*cor excogitandi*) : He filled them (always the plural, always the two sexes brought together by the sacred writer and bowing down together to receive the same blessing). He filled *them* with light and understanding, He created in *them* spiritual knowledge (*scientiam spiritus*), and He filled their heart with wisdom.' How can the deniers of feminine thought make their negations agree with a text so explicit ? How can they confine the meaning of the expression *adjutorium simile sibi* to the simple co-operation, materially moral, which woman owes to man ?

"And the New Testament, which associates woman with the

whole of the supernatural life, which takes from her midst the Mother of God Incarnate, is not less favourable to her than the Old.

"True ! without doubt, equality of nature does not exclude subordination. St. Paul reminds women of their duties, if Genesis and Ecclesiasticus teach them their rights : but these rights and this equality of nature are incontestable."

Further on he says :

"That the likeness is not absolute equality—that God, Who loves variety, and Who, amid the incalculable number of beings in the chain which stretches from the atom to the infinite, traversing the three kingdoms and the two worlds, natural and supernatural, to return to God by a gigantic and harmonious circuit—that God, I say, has established a difference between the feminine and the masculine intelligence, may well be the case. That, your principal mission not being an external mission, the Creator has armed you less than us for a battle which you ought not to fight, that is possible ; but to doom women to intellectual incapacity in the name of Genesis, or scholasticism, or history, that is to falsify history and scholasticism : it is to make the Holy Spirit lie. But to reduce woman to feeling and imagination, to crown her with flowers, and conduct her robed and adorned, as Plato did the poets, to the gate of the Republic of Letters, is an abuse of power : it is the most odious and most unjustifiable of ostracisms.

"It is the business of the psychologists to ascertain whether the feminine intelligence, which is of the same nature as that of man, is also of the same strength : whether it acts as ours does in the pursuit of truth, or whether it does not proceed rather by a kind of intuition : whether it is not well to recognise that the woman travels faster, but not so far as the man ; that she understands quicker, but less than we do. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that she has an intelligence capable of all the operations which our intelligence performs, so that we may trace for woman her *intellectual duty*, for if woman has an intelligence, she ought to cultivate it. There is for her an *intellectual duty*."

This brilliant lecture ends with an analysis of that *intellectual duty*. Yet there is a word also for hygienics. Count de Maistre wrote to his daughter, who had been studying too hard : "*Soigne ta santé scrupuleusement. Conserve ta bête : ton oncle t'a fait comprendre suffisamment l'importance de cet animal.*"

Notices of Books.

The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ: A Critical Inquiry into the Alleged Relations of Buddhism with Primitive Christianity. By CHARLES FRANCIS AIKEN, S.T.D., Instructor in Apologetics in the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. Boston: Marlier and Company, Limited. 1900.

DR. AIKEN'S book on Buddhism and Christianity will be welcome to many readers in this country. For without any wish to exaggerate the dangers of recent Pro-Buddhist literature, we cannot regard them as wholly imaginary. This ancient Eastern religion has undoubtedly attracted a large share of attention of late years, and for some minds it has a strange fascination. Its wide range of conquest, and the vast numbers of its adherents, present a problem to the Christian Apologist and the student of history. The story of Gautama has been newly told for English readers in the glowing pages of "The Light of Asia." And, as Schopenhauer shows us, there is much in Buddha's system that has a close affinity with the later phases of modern philosophy. Hence when Mr. Arthur Lillie and other writers of that school discovered Buddhism in Christianity, the ground was to some extent prepared for them beforehand; and the ingenious theory had a success beyond its own merits. As Dr. Aiken observes, "The specious attempts to lay the Gospels under obligation to Buddhist teaching have shaken the faith of not a few Christians. The need of a thorough refutation is imperative" (Preface). And the book before us, which is partly the outcome of a series of lectures in the Catholic University of America, was written to meet this "want keenly felt in the field of Christian Apologetics."

It may be said at once that the author has not only made a praiseworthy effort to supply this need in our apologetic

literature, but he has evidently chosen the only safe and sure method of meeting the difficulty ; and the way in which he has accomplished his task is not less satisfactory. The theory put forward by the neo-Buddhists involves a grave question of doctrine, and might be made the subject of long and laboured theological arguments. But, however useful it might be for other purposes, it would hardly afford much help to those who are likely to become the victims of the Buddhist-Christian hypothesis, or do much to check the efforts of its advocates. For in truth, though doctrinal interests are involved in the issue, the main question is one of fact rather than doctrine, and the answer must be sought in evidence rather than in arguments.

It is only natural that there should be some sort of analogy between Buddhism and Christianity ; for all religious systems, however far apart and independent of one another, must needs have something in common. But the question is whether in the present case the resemblance is such as to suggest derivation, and whether the historical relations of the two religions make this particular mode of derivation probable, or even possible. It is easy to see how a little misplaced ingenuity could give a plausible appearance to the Pro-Buddhist theory. For on the one hand a superficial and one-sided comparison of the two systems might exaggerate the points of resemblance, and neglect the deeper differences. And on the other hand, there is the broad fact that Buddhism is some centuries older than Christianity. But a more thorough-going comparison will show that the semblance of similarity is destroyed by a fundamental difference. Moreover, Buddhism, like all other religions, has grown and developed in its long career ; and some of those elements which are supposed to furnish evidence of the alleged derivation, only belong to the system of Gautama in its later phases.

This is the course adopted by Dr. Aiken in the book before us. In order to form a just comparison between the two religions and set their relations in the true light, it is obviously necessary to have a clear and accurate knowledge both of the systems in themselves and of the main facts in their history. And in the case of the Christian reader who may be supposed to have such a knowledge of Christian doctrine and history, what is chiefly needed is an equally accurate knowledge of the facts in regard to Buddhism. For this reason, the author rightly devotes the first two parts of his work, rather more

than half the volume, to a careful and systematic examination of the Buddhist teaching, and the history of its origins and its later developments. And in order that nothing may be wanting for a right understanding of the system, the first part is occupied with a consideration of the state of Indian religion before the rise of Buddhism. The last chapter of the historic and expository portion of the work contains an account of the Buddhist Sacred Books, where special attention is paid to the distinction between the Northern and Southern Canons, a point of some significance in determining the date of some of the later developments. When once these facts have been established, the author's task is comparatively easy, and in some pages of trenchant criticism he exposes the fallacies of the Pro-Buddhist writers; and shows that their theory is based on exaggerated resemblances, anachronisms, fictions, and resemblances which do not imply dependence.

This historical and scientific character of the work makes it a more conclusive answer to the errors against which it is directed than any mere controversial arguments or destructive criticism. At the same time it gives the book before us a value of its own, quite apart from its original polemical purpose. We may hope that the number of those who are in need of a reply to the arguments of recent Pro-Buddhist writers is comparatively small. And their specious theory may soon be deservedly forgotten. But there is surely a far larger number of students who are naturally interested in this ancient and widespread system of Eastern religion. And to these a work like the present will be peculiarly welcome. For it has the rare merit of combining the accuracy of scientific research with the brevity and simplicity of a popular manual. And while it contains in itself a fund of information that will be enough for most readers, those who would fain pursue the subject further will find no little help in the excellent bibliography at the end of the volume.

W. H. K.

The Heart of the Empire: Discussions of Problems of Modern City Life; with an Essay on Imperialism. J. Fisher Unwin. 1901.

IN this volume nine essays on social subjects are contributed by writers who have become identified with social work.

The papers are not mere speculations of philosophic socialism, nor the chamber theories of *Doctrinaires*, but the

well-considered judgments of cultured men who have thrown in their lot with the toilers of the town, who have dwelt in the midst of them, and who have been in touch with their feelings and aspirations, their good and their evil: "Some of the authors have lived in settlements; some in block buildings; others have been brought by voluntary effort or the demands of business into direct contact with the districts abandoned to the labouring classes." (p. ix.) The treatment is calm and practical, neither an emotional declaration against the iniquities of the age, nor the building up of an unattainable Utopia, but a rational survey of the condition of society in the present year, with a due appreciation of the work hitherto attempted and the suggestion of remedies that in the opinion of the authors would mitigate the evils of gathering together large masses of workers. The titles of the essays include all the prominent topics of the day: "Realities at Home," by C. F. G. Masterman M.A., of *Albany Dwellings, Camberwell*; "The Housing Problem," by F. W. Lawrence, B.A., *Resident Mansfield House University Settlement*; "The Children of the Town," by R. A. Bray, B.A., *Albany Dwellings, Camberwell*; "Temperance Reform," by N. Buxton and W. Hoare; "The Distribution of Industry," by P. W. Wilson, B.A., Editor, *Railway Herald*; "Some Aspects of the Problem of Charity," by A. C. Pigou, B.A., "The Church and the People," by F. W. Head, M.A., *Late Resident Cambridge House University Settlement*; "Imperialism," by G. P. Gooch, M.A.; "The Past and Future," by G. M. Trevelyan, M.A. The change of pen and consequent diversity of treatment give a freshness to each subject, with an obvious diminution of unity and power, yet a oneness of aim and spirit pervades the whole, and the conclusions from the working of different minds add a certain cumulative force. The essays are specially up to date and present the questions as they are at the beginning of this twentieth century.

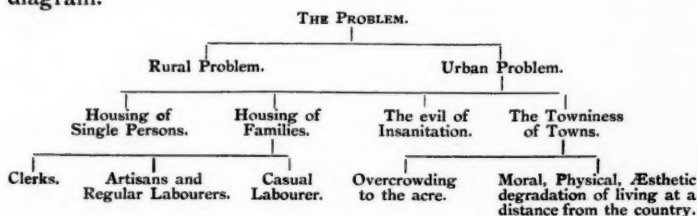
In "Realities at Home" Mr. Masterman draws a block plan of the volume. He sketches in vivid and forcible terms the vastness and importance of the problems, the success and failure of previous efforts to cope with them, and the precise object to aim at. He notices the strange fluctuation in public opinion when, after the stirring appeals of Carlyle and Ruskin, of Maurice and Kingsley, had at length aroused the attention and secured the good will of England, had created excitement in the upper and middle classes, had incited a movement at

the universities, had caused the appointment of Royal Commissions, and had agitated the churches into activity, then suddenly the whole excitement collapsed. "Age after age has passed, scheme after scheme has been tried, and in essence the problem remains as far off solution as ever. There was the Age of Socialism, when middle class enthusiasts abandoned their comfortable surroundings to preach to the workers by rainy corners and in dismal meetings the gospel of the New Era. And the result was but scorn and dull indifference and rejection of a creed only promising benefit to generations still unborn. There was the Age of Slumming, when, stimulated by the cloying pathos of the popular novelist, the wealthy and good of the West descended, halo-crowned, into hovel and cellar, to demonstrate by songs and smiles and sympathy the affection of the rich for the poor. There was the Age of Settlements, when the universities essayed their hands and founded citadels in the dark quarters of the great cities, attempting by the diffusion of diluted knowledge and culture to beautify the lives of the toilers. There was the Age of Philanthropy, falsely so called, when Mansion House funds and similar charities rained golden showers on an imperturbable and dissatisfied populace; when General Booth received a hundred thousand pounds to eliminate the submerged, and the benevolence of the wealthy, imparting of their superfluity, was hailed as the true solution of the social difficulty. All these have risen and flourished and passed away, and the problem still remains in all its sordid, unimaginable vastness as insoluble as ever." (p. 5.)

The magnitude of the task is lucidly indicated. Take away 100,000 from the working population of London, a number sufficient to found a huge town, enough to people a new colony, transplant them beyond the seas, and in a few months they are not missed, the struggling mass has rolled over the vacancies. They are but one fortieth of the people of London: as if one man were taken away from forty. The specific evils of this overwhelming aggregation are declared to be the 'very' poor, the overcrowding, drink, and the effect on life reared in these vast accretions. Among the attempted remedies Mr. Masterman mentions the work of the churches, and he thus estimates the efforts of the Catholic Church: "The Roman Catholic Church is doing heroic work amongst the very poorest. Her schools, on which so much effort has been

expanded, are in many respects models of their kind. They educate the poorest of the poor—many who are refused under varied pretexts admission to the State Elementary Schools—children of 'Protestant' parents, hatless, bootless, half-starved. They are for the most part carried on in a spirit of devotion beyond all praise. But the Roman Catholic Church is too hopelessly submerged by the mere weight of numbers to be any effective influence beyond the limits of its own immediate adherents. Its priests are few and hard driven; its regular Orders show a singular disinclination to throw themselves into work in the congested districts. The lay element is almost completely absent. The sympathies of the Church are democratic; the devotion of many of the poorer Irish and others to their religion, their attendance at Mass, and their offerings from scanty earnings is enough to put to shame riches and more prominent organizations; the work is emphatically 'of God.' Few who know anything of the life of the slum will be found to join in the shameful parrot-cry of 'No Popery!' which has disturbed the minds of wealthy and languid individuals in a different quarter of life. But the paucity of numbers, both workers and adherents, leaves the body with but little influence upon the general life of the crowd; at present there appears but scanty possibility of such an increase of either as to materially affect the grave questions of the future of the city race." (p. 39.)

The extremely interesting paper of Mr. Lawrence's on the Housing Problem, places the question in a clear and attractive light. Its scope may be illustrated by reproducing his diagram.



He describes the particular evils attending each of the headings. He recommends the creation of a central authority with power to acquire land in the vicinity of towns, to construct main roads 250 feet wide on a definite plan, and to reserve open spaces for the use of the public. He suggests the

separation of manufactures from commercial centres, a movement already practically commenced in the removal of the shoe industry to Northampton and Leicester, the clothing to Bradford and Leeds, and the erection of large works in unoccupied places, *e.g.*, those of Sunlight Soap. He deprecates the building of fresh houses on the sites of demolished insanitary property, for the space thereby secured should at all costs be devoted to fresh air. Cheap and speedy locomotion becomes a necessity, and would be assisted by tubes and the 250 feet arteries.

Mr. Bray treats of the children. The huge masses of men huddled together, the din and racket of selling and manufacturing, the cramped space, the lack of fresh air and the beauties of nature, leave their mark on the impressionable mind of a child. The environment of the town child and the environment of a rustic child produce a completely different character. Mr. Bray concludes that the effect of town life on children tends physically to rear an unhealthy race, mentally to create a people of quick superficial intelligence, and morally to produce excitability, a disposition to fight for themselves, and a habit of untruthfulness. To cope with these unnatural traits artificial conditions are introduced, the voluntary agencies of philanthropy and religion, and the legal enactments of attending school. The voluntary agencies provide hospitals, free meals funds, amusements, country holidays, etc., and in addition the churches open their Sunday schools. The author rather discounts the influence of the latter: "a sort of vague hazy impression has been left on their minds; they view the affairs of the next world through the mists that have gathered round their early lessons, and the sole truth that is made clear to them is that a sort of topsy-turveydom will be found there, in which all the rich shall be poor and the poor rich." (p. 134.) The shortcomings of the national scheme of education and the deficiencies of the Board Schools receive due recognition. Mr. Bray sums up the following evils: the complexity of the existing system, the incompetence and poverty of many School Boards, the religious controversy and the isolation of the schools. He forcibly presents the difficulties and disadvantages of Voluntary Schools, and proposes a solution of the vexed question: "Next it must be remembered that the need of improving the schools is urgent; this is a practical question, and we must content ourselves by getting the best

practicable solution possible under present circumstances, instead of opposing all reform because it fails to realise some unattainable ideal. To suggest the abolition of Voluntary Schools would be to suggest the impracticable. Their supporters are too numerous for any measure of this kind to commend itself to Parliament. On the other hand, the managers have neither the capacity nor the money required to put their schools on a satisfactory footing. There is but one possible way of escape : the County Educational Authority, proposed above, must finance and take the general control of the secular education. The present managers would be placed in the position similar to that of the local managers. There would, however, be these differences. They would be a permanent body and not removable at will by the County Authority ; they ought also to have the right of appointing the head-teacher without any restriction, except the possession of certain professional qualifications ; lastly, they would control and direct the religious instruction. This change would place the education given in Voluntary Schools on a level with that given in a Board School, while the advocates of definite religious teaching, or, more correctly, of theological instruction, would still have their way. The question of voluntary subscriptions still remains. Now the right of a class to superintend the religious teaching of the schools is a curious one. There is no logical reason why they should possess it. On the other hand, there is equally little reason why they should not. They do possess this right now, and appear likely to retain it in the future ; they ought, however, to be ready to pay for the privilege. Mr. T. C. Horsfall, when proposing a compromise very similar to the one just advocated, suggests that the Voluntary managers ought to pay interest on the capital which would have to be borrowed to improve the buildings of the Voluntary Schools. This appears fair ; an arrangement of this kind would, however, have the incidental advantage of proving whether the defenders of Voluntary Schools support them on the ground of the religious teaching given or, as has been insinuated, on account of their cheapness." (p. 158.) We would suggest that if a school is erected at a cost of, say, £3,000 by voluntary contributions, the interest of that sum (say £100) might be fairly considered to be equivalent to an annual voluntary contribution : hence that the managers need not be called upon to pay the interest on improvements

ordered by the educational authority on the ground of not paying any voluntary contributions.

The essay on Temperance Reform is itself a model of temperance. It is restrained, has no terrible examples nor ghastly details of the effects of drunkenness. The public house is presented in its various phases, a word is said in its favour even in its present state, and a suspicion is broached that its evils have been overstated. The current questions of prohibition or regulation, of licensing or public management, are ably and calmly discussed entirely on an up-to-date basis. The authors pronounce in favour of compensation to be adjusted through the arbitration of experts.

Mr. Wilson, in a chatty discursive style, deals with the Distribution of Industry. The burden of his theme consists in the removal of industrial works from London and the centres of commerce, which would mitigate the overcrowding, congregate the working men around the factory, and tend to better work, better workmen, and cheaper production. This leads to the discussion of transport, locomotion, and cheap fares. Tubes, electric trams, and motor cars are not, in his view, the pleasant pictures that fancy paints them. The present railway system receives its share of blame for freight and fares, but the difficulties are impartially considered. Competition and sweating come under review and the solution of the knotty points is left to the competence and energy of manufacturers, who are urged to abandon old-fashioned ways and conform to modern methods.

The Aspects of the Problem of Charity are seen from a Charity Organisation standpoint. It may be called scientific charity. The precise definition of the term is given: "It is the business of wise charity to alleviate distress without injuring character, and with the hope even of elevating it in the process, if that should turn out to be possible." (p. 240.) A diagnosis is prescribed consisting of examination and investigation into the past, present and future of the patient, then classification and subdivision, the administering of tentative remedies, with the final fear lest the doses should make the sufferer worse. There is no gainsaying the logic of the process in view of the havoc attending indiscriminate charity—the pauperising, the degradation, the callousness of the recipient. But it is scarcely Christian charity, the teaching of the Gospel, the practice of holy persons, the response to the generous impulses that God has planted in the human breast.

The essay on the Church and the People is the least satisfactory of the series, partly because it is apparently a plea for Disestablishment, and partly from its dreamy structure of an impossible church. That the poor had the Gospel preached to them was a sign of the advent of the new dispensation, and in a treatise dealing with the poor and oppressed we looked with interest for the part assigned to the Church in the great work of the amelioration of the people. The Catholic Church has a noble record in her treatment of slave, serf, villein, human chattel of the soil, oppression and degradation in every part of the world for nineteen centuries. The failure of the Established Church to keep in touch with the working classes is generally admitted: Mr. Head shows this clearly and abundantly and we need not follow him through his investigation of facts and causes. He recommends as a fundamental remedy, Disestablishment, partial Disendowment, and the substitution of the broadest church yet advocated. The following extract will give a notion of Mr. Head's idea of a church: "There is, first, the question of membership. And for this the prevailing theory now, like that of the early Revolutionaries in France, is to make a distinction between active and passive citizens. Just as then the man who paid a certain amount in taxes was alone admitted to the franchise, so now certain tests are to be offered which alone shall give men full membership of the Church. But this at once destroys that nationalism which must be the true basis of a national Church. A man is a Churchman because he is an Englishman, not because he is a communicant. The outward sign of this is baptism, but there might well be cases in which willingness to do good might be enough. This qualification of course involves great changes. The Dissenters are at once recognised as members of the Church. For as Englishmen they and the Anglicans are but varieties of the same aspect of the nation—the religious aspect. The secularist too, or the agnostic, to whom tests like baptism or a creed are intolerable, would find his place in a Church which recognised the value of self-sacrifice and philanthropy without orthodoxy. Instead of the rivalry of sects and the scoffing of the world at their wrangles, there would be the consciousness of union, though the varieties might be manifold.

No less important is the question of doctrine. Hitherto the principle has always been definition. But the need now

is for more indefiniteness. There are two obvious difficulties in subscription to the formularies of a religious body. One is the loss of liberty. To promise that a particular form of faith shall be followed for life at once destroys the possibility of development or criticism. There must always be a dread of free thought, a disposition not to pursue truth fearlessly to all its consequences, lest the promise be broken. The other difficulty is dishonesty. Even if certain words could be stretched to mean what we should like them to mean in the twentieth century, is it fair to think that they meant anything like this to the men of the sixteenth?" More follows in similar strain. Granting that this grotesque structure could be erected, Mr. Head does not describe how it would influence the mass of the working population on the questions at issue.

We have left little space for the essays on "Imperialism" and "The Past and Future." The former is mainly political and the latter an attack on the *laissez-faire* principle with a call for action and leaders. We can thoroughly recommend the volume to all, especially to those who have the welfare of the people at heart, and who are not absorbed in visionary theories of the distant impossible, but who wish to be up and doing at the present day. With the exception of Mr. Head's Church, all the suggestions are eminently practical, and offered by men actually engaged in practical work. The various proposals may or may not command assent, they cannot be refused sympathy, and the calm intelligent discussion of the topics will diffuse more accurate knowledge of the objects to be aimed at, and will, it is hoped, revive interest in social work.

A. S.

Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle. By E. S. PURCELL; edited and finished by EDWIN DE LISLE. Two volumes. London: Macmillan & Co. 1900.

IT is hard to understand, in these days, the hopefulness with which many looked some forty or fifty years ago for the reunion of the Anglican Church with Rome; but it is harder to realize the position which Phillipps De Lisle took up in regard to this work and maintained through the course of a long life. The letters and documents accumulated in these two volumes do something to explain the enigma by showing

us the man. As you read, you begin to disentangle the salient points of his character from the ill-arranged mass of material here heaped together. He was something of a seer, of a mystical turn, and he saw things as it were in a vision. And from his fifteenth year onwards he was enthralled, dominated, by one idea that gave a tone or colour to his whole life. He wished to see, and he seems to have almost seen, England Catholic once more, her cathedrals restored to their ancient rites, her deserts peopled with monks, her streets bright with frequent religious processions, his countrymen loyal sons once more of the Holy See. He himself was to have a large share in this work. He wrote in 1869 to the Rev. W. R. Brownlow (the lately deceased Bishop of Clifton):—"There were three great objects, to which I felt, after my own conversion as a boy of fifteen, specially drawn by internal feeling. The first was to restore to England the primitive monastic contemplative observance, which God enabled me to do in the foundation of the Trappist Monastery of M. St. Bernard. The second was the restoration of the primitive Ecclesiastical Chant. . . . The third was the restoration of the Anglican Church to Catholic Unity, and thus to reunite England to the See of St. Peter." (Vol. I., p. 349.)

To our eyes, his was a strange life; but its strangeness all came from this dominant idea. He had fixed his heart on the impossible. He wished to put back the clock of history, to re-create an age long past, to re-unite the Anglican Church, with her cathedrals, her bishops and deans and clergy, nay if feasible her liturgy, to the Roman obedience. What might have been done, indeed to some extent was done in the reign of Mary, could not be done in that of Victoria. Schism has long since passed into heresy, and heresy has blighted all corporate life. The Church of England is no longer, even potentially, a living unity, having an organization that could be galvanized into active life, or be grafted on to the great Catholic body. Sections of her members may show symptoms of vitality, but the greater their vigour, the more manifest is their tendency to separate from her. As a church she is dead, spiritually dead, beyond the hope of resurrection. She is state-created, state-maintained; her commission is human, not divine. But Ambrose Phillipps De Lisle's dream was that she should become again what she once was, a living branch of the Church, bearing fruit unto life everlasting. The nobility of

his character and the steadfastness of his faith are therefore the more striking, since he bore almost without a murmur the overthrow of schemes dearer to him than life, and accepted with resignation their practical condemnation by the Holy See.

He was converted in 1825 as a boy of fifteen. He was brought, as he believed, to this step by a voice from heaven declaring that Mahomet was anti-Christ. This manifestation overthrew his prejudice against Rome, *the* anti-Christ to all true Protestants, and his reception into the Church soon followed. The impression made upon his mind by this occurrence lasted throughout his life, and was the main reason of the support that he, a pronounced Tory, gave to Mr. Gladstone during his campaign against Turkey in the seventies. He was sent to Cambridge, where he made the acquaintance of Kenelm Digby. As there was no Catholic Church in the town, he and his friend were accustomed to ride over to Old Hall every Sunday, a distance of twenty-five miles, fasting for Confession, Mass and Communion. These Sunday morning rides brought on an illness by which he was compelled to leave the University. He spent some time travelling abroad, and at the age of twenty-five he married a daughter of Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, and settled at Grace-Dieu in Leicestershire, near his father's seat. His new home became quite a centre of Catholic life in England. In its neighbourhood he carried out one portion of his cherished design in the foundation of the Cistercian Monastery of M. St. Bernard. Here he entertained many Oxford friends, and became intimate with Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin, and many other prominent Catholics. He kept in touch with the leaders of the Tractarian movement, and advanced it by every means in his power. Everything that could promote the Catholic cause had his warmest support; for he looked upon himself as an instrument in the hands of Providence for the restoration of Christian unity in this country.

This life was well worth writing, and was sure to be full of lessons for future generations if the tale were well told. We wish that we could say that such is the case. It will always be very valuable from the letters and documents that form the bulk of its pages; but their arrangement and interpretation leave much to be desired. To obtain a true idea of the character and life of the subject of a biography, it is necessary

to trace the development of the man in the successive stages of his career; and it is just this facility that is denied us in the present work. There is ample material to work upon; but each one who reads is not merely practically left to himself to work out the meaning and value of the documents before him, but is at times even hindered by what can only be described as the hap-hazard way in which they are heaped together. This may be owing to the death of Mr. Purcell when the book was scarcely half-finished, or it may be that the biographer did not quite understand his own business. We are therefore constrained to say that the life does not seem at all attractive, and that it might with great advantage have been considerably curtailed. The references to Mr. Purcell's biography of Cardinal Manning are certainly not in very good taste, and Mr. Edwin De Lisle would have been better advised had he omitted using this opportunity for airing his views about the unsuitable (to his mind) architecture of the new Westminster Cathedral.

F. T. L.

Diodor von Tarsus. VON ADOLF HARNACK. Texte und Untersuchungen. VI. 4. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1901.

THE Paris MS. which is the single authority for the works of Justin Martyr contains also under his name a number of documents which by common consent have long been recognised as by no possibility really his. They are to be found among the *Spuria* in any edition of Justin. Four of them are bound together by marked resemblances of character; these are: (1) *Quaestiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos*, (2) *Quaestiones Gentilium ad Christianos*, (3) *Quaestiones Christianorum ad Gentiles*, (4) *Confutatio dogmatum Aristotelis*. The authorship of these four tractates has long been debated, and since the time of Grabe there has been a tendency to father them on Theodoret, or at any rate on some member of the School of Antioch. La Croze, however, one of that wonderful race of patristic scholars that flourished at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, maintained in a letter to Mosheim that the author was none other than Diodore of Tarsus himself, the father of the Antiochene School. In the study before us Harnack revives and defends this view with an acuteness of criticism and a

wealth of argument and illustration that seem to overpower all opposition. The introduction discussing the questions involved is a model of what such an investigation should be—clear, solid, objective. Harnack shows from a variety of internal features that the *Quaest. et Resp. ad Orthodoxos* was written about the year 370 and in Greek Syria, and that the writer had lived in a town on the sea-coast in which Apollonius of Tyana was said to have worked one of his wonders: Antioch best fulfils these conditions. In regard to more personal matters, the author was a monk and then a bishop; he was highly cultured, a student of Aristotle, an exegete, and versed in church music; his theology was that represented by the great Cappadocians. Harnack shows that these and other traits are found together in the person of Diodore. Lastly he institutes a stylistic comparison with the extant fragments of Diodore.

It will be of interest to see whether Harnack's result will come to be generally accepted after the sifting to which it will be subjected during the next few months. An obvious difficulty is that the four treatises are not mentioned in lists of Diodore's writings—but such lists are commonly so imperfect that too much weight must not be attached to their silence.

If Harnack's thesis prove to be well-founded it will be of quite extraordinary patrological and theological importance, especially in regard to the history of dogma. Diodore was one of the most striking ecclesiastical personages of the sub-Nicene period, the correspondent and friend of St. Basil, the opponent of Arianism and strong supporter of the Nicene faith and the Cappadocian theology. Of his subjective orthodoxy there can be no doubt—his wish was to be even vehemently orthodox, and he endured persecution for the faith. During his life-time no suspicions of the soundness of his doctrine seem to have been entertained; but, like so many others, he was compromised by the errors of his disciples in the second and third generation. He became suspect of Nestorianising tendencies, his works were reprobated by St. Cyril of Alexandria, his name was dragged into the Three Chapters Controversy, and it is a question whether he did not fall under the anathema of the Fifth Council.

But if Diodore's school produced Theodore and Nestorius, it also produced Theodoret and St. John Chrysostom. He himself was a most prolific writer, but hitherto only a few fragments of his works have been known. If these full

treatises, covering 200 pages in Otto's Justin, are really his, it is evidently a most substantial acquisition. In an appendix Harnack indicates his suspicion that the *Expositio rectae Fidei* (also among the Spuria of St. Justin) may likewise prove to be Diodore's.

In conclusion it has to be said that it is difficult to forgive the editor for supplying a German half-translation, half-analysis, of the treatises, instead of a critical Greek text; especially as a newly found MS. shows that the current text woefully needs editing. Such a proceeding in a series that circulates widely outside of Germany seems wholly indefensible.

E. C. B.

Die Blutzengen aus den Tagen der Titus Oates-Verschworung (1678-1681). Ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte Englands im 17. Jahrhundert. Von JOSEPH SPILLMANN, S.J. Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Herder 1901. 3 marks 60; bound, 5 marks 40.

ENGLISH Catholics possess a useful digest of documents bearing on the history of the Titus Oates Plot in one of the volumes of Brother Foley's "Records;" but this German story of the last great Protestant Reign of Terror deserves a warm welcome, for it presents to its readers, in a handy and popular form, a succinct account of the "Popish Plot," from its conception in the brain of Shaftesbury to its fizzle-out in the reaction of 1681. It is very gratifying to a Catholic Englishman to follow the author in his enthusiastic admiration of our martyrs and confessors, and to note his patient interest in details of place and circumstance, so characteristic of German scholarship. Father Spillmann begins with a lucid recital of the events immediately preceding the Terror—the Portuguese match, the conversion of the Duke of York and his marriage with the Princess of Modena, and Shaftesbury's determination to exclude the Duke of York from the succession, which last circumstance was the origin of the whole trouble. The project of setting Monmouth on the throne (why is it that the hopes of Protestantism have so often been centered in the person of a bastard?) involved the prior discrediting of the Duke of York in the eyes of Englishmen; and nothing seemed better calculated to this end than a stirring up of the smouldering embers of anti-Catholic bigotry.

Shaftesbury therefore decided that a "Popish plot" must be discovered, in the same way as was contrived by his worthy predecessor, Cecil, Lord Burghley, in 1605.

Whatever germ of truth there may have been in the accusations brought against Catholics anent the "Gunpowder Plot," there was certainly none whatever in the charges fabricated by Oates and his confederates. That is to say, in plain language, that twenty-five innocent persons were executed, and scores of others died in prison, because the interests of Protestantism required the setting aside of the rightful heir to the throne in favour of one of Charles's illegitimate sons. We can hardly wonder that the same interests have, ever since, needed the recital by each succeeding sovereign of an indecently blasphemous and insulting renunciation of England's ancient Faith. A fair sample of the modes of judicial procedure followed in 1679 towards not only Catholics, but also towards all who refused to bear false witness against them, is to be found in our author's graphic account of the treatment of Francis Corral, a hackney-carriage driver, who was asked to swear that he had taken Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's body to Primrose Hill. Corral, who was not a Catholic, declared that he knew nothing at all about the alleged murder of the magistrate; and even the offer of £500 could not induce him to implicate any Papists in the affair. Shaftesbury threatened to shut him up in a barrel with sharp nails on the inside, and to roll him down a hill in it, if he remained contumacious. "What, then, would you have, my Lord?" asked the poor fellow; "would you have me accuse others falsely?" He was taken to Newgate, and kept in prison from Thursday evening till midday on Sunday, without food or drink, and on the Monday was brought again before the Commissioners. Shaftesbury now tried to coax him; but, though nearly bereft of his senses with terror and the effect of his sufferings, Corral fell on his knees and said, "I know nothing of it; and, rather than cause harm to others, I will die this minute." Shaftesbury, changing his tone, held before the coachman's eyes the terrors of hanging, drawing and quartering. "Yes, my Lord," cried Corral, "that will indeed be a terrible moment; but, my Lord, there would be for me a yet more terrible moment before the judgment seat of God, if I unjustly accused an innocent man." After this hero had spent seven weeks more in Newgate, he was released, more dead than alive, because it had been proved

that Godfrey's body was not removed in a vehicle at all, but on horseback. Surely the name of Francis Corral deserves to be remembered next after those who suffered for their Faith in that horrible time.

Father Spillmann devotes special attention to the workings of the persecution in the county of Monmouth—the Lancashire of Wales from the number of its Catholic inhabitants. The villanies of John Arnold, the priest-hunter, and the heroic death of Fathers David Lewis, Ignatius Price, and Philip Evans, S.J., with the many other martyrs and confessors who are the glory of Gwent, are known to us from the pages of Challoner, Flanagan and Foley; but their history has never been told in a more devout and pleasing style than by Father Spillmann. Of course, Father John Kemble, the Herefordshire martyr, and his proverbial pipe of tobacco, are not forgotten. Every Catholic who is a devotee of the "Indian weed" thinks of Father Kemble with peculiar affection, and such will read with pleasure the author's faithful German translation of Charles Kemble's (the actor's) verses on this subject. We give the last verse as a specimen of Father Spillmann's fidelity in translating :—

"And prouder are we of the thought
Which such a memory brings,
Than if within our veins there flowed
The blood of twenty kings."

Thus rendered into German :—

"Und stolzer noch, gedenk ich dein,
Das Herz mir schlagen thut,
Als pochte in den Adern mein
Von zwanzig Königen Blut."

We must not forget to refer to the interesting chapter dealing with Ven. Claude de la Colombière, who was imprisoned in London on the false accusation of a Swiss Protestant, and was in imminent danger of perishing on the scaffold with his English brethren; nor must we omit a reference to the chapter on the real plot—the Rye House Plot—in which some ardent spirits among the discomfited Protestants planned the King's assassination, when the anti-Catholic machinations of Shaftesbury had come to naught. That arch-schemer, after putting to death scores of innocent people for complicity in a plot which he knew had no existence, starts a real plot himself.

Both the invention of the bogus conspiracy and the organisation of the real one had one and the same object—the advancement of Protestantism in general and of Shaftesbury in particular. Both failed, and their common author only escaped the scaffold to die in misery abroad. The King, for whose blood Jesuits had been supposed to be thirsting, and whose life was really aimed at by the Protestant plotters, died a Catholic, thanks to the prayers of his priestly victims; and Shaftesbury's chief tool, the immortal Mr. Titus Oates, was periodically pilloried until the advent of the Protestant Prince of Orange restored to him his title of "saviour of the nation" and his hard-earned pension of £400 a year.

J. H. M.

Frère et Sœur. Par R. P. JEAN CHARRUAU, S.J. Paris : P. Téqui, Libraire-Editeur, 29 rue de Tournon. 1901.

FRENCH literature is unique in the excellence of its memoirs; its writers enjoy a genius quite their own in the production of this class of book. There is a simplicity or *naïveté*, an absence of self-consciousness and posing, that makes them more interesting and attractive in these self-revelations than is the case with other countries, notably our own. I am not speaking of the giants—the St Simons and the de Staels—but of the humbler class, of the *petites histoires de famille*; and to this class "Frère et Sœur" belongs.

Père Charruau warns us that the names of his characters are fictitious; but from many indications I should say that the main outlines of the tale here told are true to fact. The story may be summed up in a few words—the heroic self-sacrifice of a sister for her younger brother. On the sudden deaths within a few days of both father and mother, she becomes more than a mother to this younger brother. She watches over his up-bringing and education with loving solicitude, and to save him from moral and spiritual ruin offers her life for him. Her offering is accepted; she dies and he is reclaimed.

But the charm of the book lies outside the main issue. It gives a well-drawn picture of Angevin life. The strongly marked characteristics of the country people stand out in bold relief. Most Englishmen know France from Paris; or rather judge of France from what little they know of Paris, and so judge wrongly. It is true that Paris rules France to a much

larger extent than London does England, for centralization is much more developed across the Channel than with us; but politics apart, France, provincial France, is very different from Paris, and, to our thinking, a much better and pleasanter place. And the glimpse we get of Anjou from the characters here pictured for us makes us fall in love with that homely people and their quaint ways. Many of the incidents narrated carry us back to the days of the heroic struggle of La Vendée for faith and country. Such is the account of the early life of 'la tante Dumoulin,' which is excellent reading. The section of the book which is entitled 'Silhouettes Angevines' forms the most interesting part. I cannot forbear quoting one anecdote:—

J'achèverai d'esquisser la silhouette du père Pastoureau en rappelant un mot bien typique qu'il dit un peu avant sa mort. Le bonhomme était tombé malade quelques semaines après la célébration de ses noces d'or. Bientôt le danger devint grave, et l'on jugea qu'il était temps de faire venir M. le curé. Quand il eut reçu les derniers sacrements le père Pastoureau commença tout haut son action de grâces avec une piété sincère: "Ô mon Créateur, O mon doux Jesus, disait-il à pleine voix, que vous êtes bon de venir voir une vieille bête comme moi! O mon Jesus, mettez-moi dans votre saint paradis, quoique je ne l'aye point mérité, à seule fin que je vous avise sans jamais déceffer."

"A cet instant sa bonne femme s'approcha de lui pour lui faire prendre quelques gouttes d'eau qui avaient purifié les doigts du prêtre. "Faut boire ça?" dit le père Pastoureau.—Oui, mon ami, c'est M. le curé qui l'a dit." Le bonhomme obéit; puis on l'entendit qu'il disait à demi-voix, "Par ma foi, voilà venqué plus de cinquante ans que je n'avions lapé tant d'yeau." Et il reprit à pleine voix son action de grâces: "O mon Créateur," etc. Le brave homme s'éteignit doucement quelques heures après. (pp. 113-114.)

Many similar quotations might be made; and the quaint Angevin patois gives a pleasant flavour to the tales of the peasants and their country life.

F. T. L.

La Mort Civile des Religieux dans l'ancien droit français.

Par l'ABBE CH. LAUDRY, docteur en droit canonique.
Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils.

IT is, we suppose, a mere coincidence that this able brochure appears at the present moment when the religious orders in France are engaged in what appears to be a death struggle with the civil power. It bears witness that the attitude

of the secular law to monks and nuns was never, even in the ages of faith, very favourable. But still that attitude of which Dr. Laudry treats was a very different thing from the spirit of implacable enmity which marks the modern legislation of the French government. The condition of things under which all solemnly professed religious were considered as dead so far as their civil status was concerned has long passed away. This treatise has therefore primarily an antiquarian interest. It deals with the origin of this "civil death" which placed the monk or nun in the eyes of the law in the same category as the condemned felon, and rendered him or her incapable of enjoying the rights or performing the duties of ordinary citizenship. The author points out whence this state of things arose; he sarcastically dismisses most of the reasons alleged by jurists in favour of it—and some of them certainly deserve scant consideration—and he notes that it was nowise sanctioned by Roman law.

The range of the legislation founded on this principle, false though it was, is perfectly astounding. It stretches through centuries, and descends to more minute particulars. It was doubtless aimed in the main at the property of the Orders. The government feared that the greater part of the land would pass into the possession of men unsuited by their profession to contribute to the defence of the country. That, at least, was the motive alleged. It is not improbable that covetousness would form a better explanation. However that may be, we have here another instance of the jealousy with which the State has ever regarded the Church and its works. And in the light that this work throws upon the relations that govern the position taken up by the civil power in its dealings with the operation of Christian principles we may find a secondary, though very important, object in its publication at the present time. In any case we think that it is a most useful contribution to legal history, and one that the students of canon law would do well not to neglect.

F. T. L.

La Russie et le St. Siège. Etudes diplomatiques. III. Par le
R. P. PIERLING, S.J. Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1901.
8vo. Pp. viii., 480.

WE have already welcomed (DUBLIN REVIEW, January, 1897 and 1898) the first two volumes of Père Pierling's admirable history of the diplomatic relations that have existed at various epochs between Russia and the Holy See. And now a third volume has appeared, which is in every way worthy of its predecessors. All who take an interest in the Russian Church must study this volume, and it will be found to be good reading by many who do not profess any special acquaintance with ecclesiastical or diplomatic history. For there is nothing so delightful to the average reader as a mystery, and the mystery of "the false Dmitri" looms large in these pages.

It is not even yet fully certain whether this mysterious and ill-fated pretender was "a usurper or a victim, a King's son or an adventurer of genius." The question is yet unsolved, although Père Pierling is able to throw considerable light on it. At first he had hoped that in the secret archives of the Vatican he might find the key to the problem. But the correspondance of Dmitri with Popes Clement VIII. and Paul V., and the despatches of the Nuncio Ragoni, contain no such disclosure. The sympathies of the Vatican were not won by the confidences of the Russian. Père Pierling is however able to throw immense light on the character and aims of Dmitri from an unexpected source. When Dmitri made his profession of faith, and begged for unusual dispensations, the documents passed before the tribunal of the Roman Inquisition. In those sacred and inaccessible archives they are still preserved, and thanks to the gracious intervention of Cardinal Rampolla, Père Pierling has succeeded in penetrating those jealously-guarded portals, and dragging their secret and long-hidden testimonies to the light.

"Quoique jaloux ordinairement du mystère," he writes, le Saint-office a bien voulu, cette fois, déroger à ses traditions." There is more than one historian living who will recall vain attempts to induce the Holy Office to show him the same favour!

Père Pierling claims, modestly at least, to have made some progress towards the solution of the mystery, and to have

approached it nearer than has yet been accomplished. Among the new testimonies that he brings forward are those of Leo Sapieha, Chancellor of Lithuania, the letters of certain Polish princes, and diplomatic correspondence between Moscow and various courts of Italy.

As to the great question of the union of the Russian Church with the Holy See, Père Pierling shows that the failure of Dmitri had the most disastrous results. The supposed attempt to latinize the Church of their fathers filled Russians with consternation and dismay, and deepened and widened the gulf of suspicion and prejudice which it had been hoped to bridge. The anathemas which fell on the head of Dmitri rebounded on those of his alleged accomplices and instigators. Nevertheless, the learned Jesuit considers that the papal policy, though too credulous and hopeful, was inspired by a lofty aim and had for its unique end the spread of our holy faith and the salvation of souls.

But here, again, history repeated itself, and the pious ardour of the Pontiffs was no match for the calculating dissimulation of the Muscovite. Nothing in fact is more pathetic than these constant attempts to bring Russia into the unity of the faith, founded, as they were, on the most flattering hopes, and welcomed with the most delusive professions, but which all, one after the other, miserably failed. The selfish and deceitful policy of the Kings of Poland, here as before, was responsible in great measure for the disaster.

The volume is enriched with two admirable photogravures—a portrait of Dmitri from the Historical Museum of Moscow, and one of his wife, the Empress Marina, from the same source. There is also a full bibliography and index.

D. B. C.

La Constitution de l'Eglise : Conférences apologetiques. Par M. l'ABBÉ R. PLANEIX, chanoine honoraire, supérieur des Missionnaires diocésains de Clermont Ferrand. Paris : P. Lethielleux. Pp. xvi., 415. Price 3f.50

THE author of these apologetical conferences has already published another series on the "Divinity of the Church," and has, apparently, yet another in hand on "Church and State."

These conferences on "The Constitution of the Church" are

but a logical consequence and a continuation of the former work. The author himself compares the two series to a cathedral. In the first, he has left us outside the building, showing us the architecture of the exterior, the style, the rich ornamentation, and the wonderful harmony of the whole—"la structure extérieure de l'Eglise, monument incomparable qui a Dieu pour l'architecte, pour dimensions le monde, les siècles pour durée."

In the second volume he takes us into the interior of the temple and describes its varied details from porch to sanctuary, showing that the interior corresponds in perfect harmony and unity to the exterior plan—"là se trouvent des merveilles sculptées par un ciseau plus puissant que celui de Michel-Ange ; là resplendit une idéale beauté qui a jailli d'un pinceau supérieur à celui de Raphael ou de Fra Angelico, là se manifeste l'intelligence même de Dieu, dans une lumière qui fait tout pâlir."

In these conferences, then, the author describes the divine origin of the Church, and refutes the errors of those who see in her only a formation brought about by chance, or a transitory episode due to certain unknown circumstances. The volume contains twelve lectures. The first six treat of the social organisation of the Church: (1) of the Pope and the divine origin of his power, as proved by the testimony of Holy Scripture and tradition, (2) and by the witness of history, (3) of the struggles of the papacy against material violence (4) and intellectual anarchy, (5) and of its divine origin as proved by reason. In the 6th and 8th the authority and infallibility of the Pope are discussed. The 9th is concerned with the episcopate and the 10th with the secular clergy. The 11th and 12th deal in the most interesting and convincing manner with the religious orders (a special object of attack just now in France and elsewhere), proving their right to exist and the immense services they have rendered and are still rendering both to the Church and to society.

Such lectures would surely be delivered with much fruit in England, especially in our large towns, where still so many prejudices against the Church flourish side by side with the most lamentable indifference. They are instructive and interesting both for clergy and people, and can be highly recommended as a seasonable contribution to our apologetic literature.

D. M. S

Saint Louis (Louis IX. of France). By **FREDERICK PERRY**, M.A., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. G. P. Putnam's Sons : New York, London. The Knickerbocker Press. 1901. Pp. 303. Price 5s.

THIS book belongs to the series of the "Heroes of the Nations," a series of biographical studies of the lives and work of a number of representative historical characters about whom have gathered the great traditions of the Nations to which they belonged. We are very glad to see that for the first time among these heroes appears one who is at the same time a Saint, and that a Protestant writer does not hesitate to acknowledge that sanctity of life is no obstacle to being at the same time also a good Sovereign and King. It is true that St. Louis is a hero, but one altogether different in character from Louis XIV. or from a more modern one, Bismarck, whose biographies have also appeared in this series of publications. To the honour of the author it must be said that the picture which he presents to us of the time, reign and life of his hero in the volume before us is well executed. In twelve chapters he presents to us in a popular style the Kingdom of France before the accession of Louis IX. (ch. i.), the minority and the struggle against the Magnates, 1225-31 (ch. ii.), the period of peace, 1231-41 (ch. iii. and iv.), the English war, 1241-43 (ch. v.), preliminaries of the Crusade 1243-48 (ch. vi.), the Crusade in Egypt, 1248-50 (ch. vii.), the sojourn in Palestine, 1250-54 (ch. viii.), foreign policy, internal affairs, personal life, 1254-70 (ch. ix., x., xi.), second Crusade and death of Louis 1270 (ch. xii.). What makes the life most interesting and the reading most agreeable is that the author speaks for the greater part in the language of the Saint's contemporaries, such as Joinville, the seneschal of Champagne, Godefrey of Beaulieu, the King's confessor from 1250, and St. William of Chartres, the King's almoner.

We fully agree with the author as to what he says on p. 292 sqq. : "The personal character of St. Louis speaks for itself. Praise would be tedious, and there is no need of apology. No sound of censure or detraction breaks the universal voice of reverence and admiration which has gone up from his own and from succeeding ages. . . . His innate piety, improved by nurture and training, illuminated every relation of his life, and shone with as pure and steady a flame amid the glare which

beats upon a throne as it might have in the still and obscure twilight of the cloister. . . . A few monarchs have been saints, and many have been wise or fortunate rulers: Louis almost alone united the two characters. He possessed not only the passive but the active virtues and those which are best calculated to secure the welfare of society—justice, prudence, benevolence, industry. His reign was a period of formation and settlement rather than of growth. He was not a great conqueror, or reformer, or legislator. Yet by force of his personal virtues he raised the reputation and power of his realm and crown higher than any of his ancestors."

The book is in fact written throughout in a reverent and appreciative spirit. It is somewhat quaint, however, to find Mr. Perry telling us that "the Pope and all the Cardinals and Bishops solemnly *cursed* the Emperor" (Frederick II.). The Catholic reader understands, of course, that they excommunicated him, but the phrase used reminds one irresistibly of the Cardinal in the "Jackdaw of Rheims."

The book is well got up and profusely illustrated. It will serve to increase the popularity among us of this most heroic and lovable of saints.

D. M. S.

L'Abbaye de Saint Martial de Limoges. Etude historique, économique et archéologique, précédée de recherches nouvelles sur la vie du saint. Par CHARLES DE LASTEYRIE, Ancien Elève de l'Ecole des Chartes. Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils. 1901. 8vo. Pp. xviii; 510. Illus.; 15 francs.

IN this work one has a good example of the careful and thorough historical methods which are such a credit to French scholarship, and which particularly distinguish the new Catholic school of French antiquaries. Dealing with the remote origin and long history of one of the most venerable abbeys of Gaul, the author displays a critical faculty which, united as it is with a profound knowledge of mediæval antiquity, is as far removed from a destructive and prejudiced scepticism as from a credulous willingness to accept interesting legends on insufficient evidence. M. de Lasteyrie, indeed, has felt it his duty to assist in demolishing the long-standing but quite untenable belief in the primitive apostolicity of Saint Martial, who, though certainly one of the earliest evangelisers of Gaul, was not, as was at one time commonly supposed, an

immediate disciple of Our Lord and a kinsman of Saint Peter and Saint Stephen.

The history of the Abbey of Saint Martial of Limoges may be considered as typical of the history of some of the old French abbeys. We have the founding of a humble house of prayer at the tomb of a saintly missionary; the transformation of a primitive religious community into a monastery of Benedictines; a long period of monastic fervour and piety, succeeded by an era of gradual relaxation and increasing tepidity; then a formal abandonment of the religious life, and the adoption by the quondam monks of the status of canons regular; and finally the extinction of the community at the Great Revolution. All this is narrated in careful detail by the learned author, with much interesting matter besides, such as a list of the Abbots of Saint Martial from 848 to 1791, a terrier of the abbey lands; and an account of the relics and shrine of the patron saint, which, it is gratifying to learn, were successfully concealed at the Revolution and still honour the city of Limoges with their presence. Not the least interesting part of the book is that which treats of the various officers of the abbey, and of the duties which each had to perform. Among the most important offices was that of the Cellarer, who had supreme control of all that concerned the drink of the monks. His duties included the management of the vineyards and the assessment and receipt of the vintage dues which belonged to the abbey. This last-mentioned feature of monastic feudalism, though it involved the abbey's most considerable source of income, did more than anything else, perhaps, to bring about the decadence of the monastic spirit. No wonder, when we learn that a large number of the monks had to act the part of excisemen, by standing at the city gates and taking notes of the wagon-loads of grapes which came into the town. The great falling away from the Rule of Saint Benedict seems to have begun with the innovation which required the abbey officials to pay fixed sums of money to the monks, instead of providing their clothes and food in kind. Once the monk had to buy his habit and his meat and drink, the true Benedictine family life was impracticable. The work is illustrated with plans and engravings of the ancient Romanesque abbey-church of Saint Martial, which, after long tottering to its fall, was demolished (in the nick of time) by the Republican authorities. There is an admirable index.

J. H. M.

Tractatus de Gratia Divina. Auctore P. SANCTO SCHIFFINI, S.J. Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder. Pp. 704.

AMONG the works on philosophy which have appeared since the promulgation of the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, those written by F. Schiffini, when he occupied a professorial chair in the Roman College, enjoy a foremost place and obtained for him an enviable reputation as an original thinker. Now, therefore, that he has extended the range of his subjects, it will surprise no one when it is alleged that there is no falling off in his new work on theology, but that rather it sustains the high level of his former literary labours. The six disputations which comprise the present volume, while they deal with almost every question on grace, are all marked with the limpidity of thought, grace of style, conciseness of language and weight of argument which have ever been visible in the learned Jesuit's handiwork. One noteworthy feature is the masterly manner in which he solves the difficulties, which are real difficulties and not men of straw, and evidence of this fact is to be met with throughout the entire volume.

In one of the theses, that on the efficacy of grace, our author proves that the theory of grace, such as is propounded in the system (schola) of Dominic Bañez, does not quite safeguard the Catholic dogma of grace truly and simply sufficient. The need of joining issue with such a theory will be readily understood, when we remember that its cardinal principle is that it will never come to pass that *gratia sufficiens* will win a salutary assent unless and so far as *gratia seipsa efficax* is superadded.

In other parts of this work on grace, the difference lying between perseverance and confirmation in grace is clearly expounded; the truth of the theological axiom, "*Facienti quod in se est, Deus non denegat gratiam*," is demonstrated with a great wealth of erudite quotations; the question of the revival (reviviscentia) of merit is ably stated.

It is, however, to be regretted that the author did not enter more fully into detail with regard to the historical part of the celebrated controversy which raged in the seventeenth century, when Lessius was condemned by the two universities of Louvain and Douai for propagating (it is well known that he was not the first to teach it) the opinion that predestination is consequent on, not antecedent to, the prevision of merits, which centuries before had been taught by the Seraphic Doctor. It is true he

refers to the question itself, and on p. 210 quotes St. Francis of Sales, who had congratulated Lessius on his defence of principles he himself had upheld in his treatise on the Love of God, but it is only in answering an objection.

Beyond this, there is nothing but praise to bestow on the *Tractatus de Gratia Divina*.

F. A.

Philosophie de Saint Thomas : Les Vertus Naturelles. Par M. I. GARDAIR, Professeur Libre de Philosophie à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris, à la Sorbonne. Paris : P. Lethielleux, Libraire-Éditeur, 10 Rue Cassette. 8vo. Pp. 523.

M. GARDAIR commences his treatise with an inquiry into the diverse conditions of voluntary and involuntary action. Without a clear knowledge of the distinct characteristics of voluntary and involuntary action, virtue might exist without recognition, and what is not really virtuous might appear as virtue. Under the head of voluntary action, our author discusses the will of evil, and decides with St. Thomas and Aristotle, as against Plato and Socrates, that man can will what he knows to be evil, though he wills it under the appearance of some good. He next considers the goodness and evil of human actions, first, in general, when he decides that an action is good in proportion to the perfection it possesses according to its kind, and evil in the proportion that it falls short of that kind of perfection which its nature demands; next, in particular as to the interior acts of will, and decides that an action of this kind is good only by reason of its object; next, in particular as to exterior actions, and decides that while an action of this kind has a moral value in itself in virtue of the laws of reason, in its actual performance it is made good or evil by the intention of the will; next, in particular as to the passions, and decides that, while considered in themselves they stand apart from morality, they enter into the moral order by their subordination to reason and to will. Having examined the conditions of morality and immorality in human actions, our author proceeds to consider the immediate principles of moral action, that is to say, the virtues. And, as the virtues are habitual dispositions, he enquires first upon habitual dispositions in general, discussing their nature, their subject, their generation and evolution. After this general and

implicit consideration of the virtues he passes to their special and explicit consideration, and treats in detail of the intellectual and moral virtues, and of the classification of the moral virtues, and concludes his treatise with a discussion on the properties and evolution of the virtues. Like everything that M. Gardair writes, this volume deserves the most attentive study. We recommend it in the strongest possible manner to our readers.

W. L. G.

La Chrétienté : Philosophie Catholique de l'Histoire Moderne. Par R. P. DELAPORTE, Missionnaire du Sacré Cœur. Paris : P. Téqui, Libraire-Editeur, 29 Rue de Tournon. 1901. Pp. 428.

IN this volume, P. Delaporte treats of certain leading events of Church History. Indeed he might have fairly entitled his work Chapters of Church History. Had he chosen this less ambitious title there would perhaps have been a better correspondence between the promise and the fulfilment. Our author does indeed treat, and frequently in a very interesting manner, of incidents or movements which have had a large effect upon the life of the Church. But the subordination of these incidents and movements to a general scheme of divine Providence is not shown with that distinctness, or even with that attempt at distinctness, which the title our author has preferred would lead us to expect. Considered in what we take to be its proper character, that is to say, as a collection of separate essays, *La Chrétienté* is not a book that will prove of exceptional value to students of Church History. The treatment of the subjects discussed is sound enough so far as it goes. P. Delaporte, as he himself informs us, has taken his materials chiefly from the excellent *Histoire Générale de l'Eglise* of Darras. But what Darras has said at length and with detail, P. Delaporte says briefly and merely in general outline. His work is indeed, to use the terms of his own description, nothing more than "une esquisse rapide." But what may fail to content the student may interest the general reader, to whom we are glad to recommend this volume by reason of its subject matter, its very readable style, and the profound spirit of loyalty to the Holy See which everywhere characterises it.

W. L. G.

Nelle Letterature Straniere "Umoristi." ANDREA LOFORTE-RANDI. Palermo: Alberto Reber. 1901. 8vo. Pp. 344.

M. LOFORTE-RANDI writes in this volume of Rabelais, Folengo, Sterne, Xavier de Maistre and Töpffer. Rabelais and Folengo he criticises in a single article, because, as he explains, of their many points of contact. They were born within a few years of each other, they had both passed through a University course, they had both become monks, they had both left their monasteries, and, if we do not misunderstand our author, they had both become the satirists that they were because during their monastery careers they had been brought into touch with the worst aspects of human life. Folengo's stay in his monastery was a brief one. "*Ben presto stomocato della vita monacale sfracòt,*" says our author. Nor did he leave his monastery for the best of purposes, for, continues our author, in words immediately following those just quoted, "*e in compagnia di bellissima giovane, Girolama Dieda, di cui era innamoratissimo, si pose a correre l'Italia, e lungo questa corsa agitata concepì et compose la sua grande epopea maccheronica, Il Baldo:*" the work in which he slanders the monks. From our author's own account of him, Folengo was evidently a very poor stick to beat the monks with. Still Folengo is the stick at hand, so our author makes use of him. Indeed, a large portion of the Rabelais-Folengo article is devoted to an attack on monks, and anything that Rabelais or Folengo may say on monks is gladly quoted.

Rabelais contents himself with denying the usefulness of monks. A monk, he says, is not a field labourer, a soldier, a medical man, a merchant, or anything else that is useful. But Folengo, like the openly vicious man that he was, spoke of them in the language of vice, and his sayings too are recorded. M. Loforte-Randi next gives his attention to Sterne. Of Sterne the man, Horace Walpole wrote that "*he could snivel over a dead ass to the neglect of his live mother.*" Of Sterne the writer, a trustworthy critic has said that "*his writings contain a most wilful and gratuitous indecency almost without a parallel.*" But both man and writer find their admirer in M. Loforte-Randi. "*Lo Sterne non è solo un grande scrittore, è soprattutto un grande carattere*" (p. 106). Into the grandeur of Sterne's character morality, as the term is usually understood, did not enter. Our author reminds us more than

once that Sterne paid, and it would seem without either shame or repentance, "il suo tributo alla debolezza umana" (pp. 156, 157). But Sterne was a grand character for all that, and if Johnson spoke of him in terms of disgust his only motive could be that of envy (pp. 154, 155). Whoever cares to turn to Dr. Birkbeck Hill's "Johnsonian Miscellanies" (Vol. II, p. 320), will find a reason stated for Johnson's disgust such as we prefer not to transcribe here. The remaining articles criticise Xavier de Maistre, brother of the famous Joseph de Maistre, of whom our author blandly writes that he "Sovente difende l'assurdo, il diritto divino e l'infallibilità dei papi," and with Töpffer.

W. L. G.

L'Ordre Surnaturel et le Devoir Chretien. Par R. P. TH. BOURGEOIS, des Frères Prêcheurs. P. Lethielleux, Editeur. 8vo. Pp. 380.

THE purpose of this treatise is to show that the duties which compose the Christian life find their proper explanation only in the doctrine of the Supernatural Order. The duties of the Christian life, as compendiously stated by P. Bourgeois, are to believe in the mission of Jesus Christ as the Redeemer; to accept His teaching; to submit to His ruling; to supplicate His assistance; and to aim at union with His life through the reception of the Sacraments, more especially those of Penance and the Holy Eucharist. Of these duties and their various divisions P. Bourgeois treats with some power and eloquence. He treats, too, of eternal punishment as one of the sanctions of the Supernatural Order. What he says on this last subject is particularly deserving of attention. He shows very well the futility of the alternatives for eternal punishment which have been suggested. Thus, when discussing the alternative of a punishment which will end, he writes: "Eh! Quoi? en effet, quand sous la menace d'une justice éternelle, l'homme ne craint pas d'en braver le courroux, pour assouvir ses désirs d'un instant, quand le spectacle de l'enfer entrouvert sous ses pas n'est pas assez fort pour arrêter les bouillonnements de sa colère ou de sa convoitise, on voudrait que ce flot agité s'arrêtât devant les digues impuissantes des peines temporaires? On voudrait que le temps fût plus fort que l'Eternité? On voudrait que l'homme tremblât devant le supplice

accidentel et bénin qui lui serait réservé? Oh! ceux qui connaissent notre nature humaine ne le pensent pas; ils sentent toute l'impuissance d'une telle doctrine et ils la repoussent sans hésitation. Cette insuffisance apparaît plus manifestement quand on examine les conditions du mal qui damne, etc." (p. 288). But why does P. Bourgeois say that the task he has undertaken is to show that "the duties which compose the Christian Life find their explanation and their raison d'être in the doctrine of the Supernatural Order and in the object of that doctrine?" His treatise is no explanation of one thing in the light of another, as his professed plan would seem to suggest. The duties of which he treats all belong to the Supernatural Order.

W. L. G.

Lettres du R. P. Didon, de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs, à Mademoiselle Th. V. Paris: Librairie Plon, 8 rue Garancière. 1901. 8vo. Pp. 440.

IT might seem to some an offence against good taste to publish a volume composed of letters addressed solely to oneself and never intended for the public eye. But, no doubt, the present publication has been made in the hope that what has been of pleasure and profit to one, may prove of pleasure and profit also to others. But what pleasure or profit is to be derived from a perusal of this volume we confess ourselves unable to conjecture. The thoughts, when they are spiritual, are the commonplaces of the pulpit. The eloquence, when it exists, is of the distinctly turgid order and is not always displayed in the best of causes. Thus, the lady correspondent has some thought of studying St. Thomas. P. Didon strongly dissuades her from this. To begin with, she would find the language of St. Thomas unintelligible. He would as soon think of advising her to read "les hiéroglyphes de la grande Pyramide." (p. 301.) And even if she should master the difficulties of the phraseology, what profit will come to her from the study? Et puis, il ne faut pas exagérer. St. Thomas n'est pas tout. Quand on l'a étudié, on voit ses limites, et il y a—de nos jours—une multitude de questions qui, du temps d'Albert le Grand et de St. Thomas, n'étaient pas encore posées. On ne connaissait pas la science, on ignorait l'histoire, on n'avait pas les premières notions du linguistique, les deux

langues originales de la Bible—l'hébreu et le grec—n'étaient pas connues. Et on prétendait interpréter la Bible." (p. 301.) What a pity St. Thomas and Blessed Albert had not a Jew and an "Orthodox" Greek at their elbow as they laboured at their Commentaries. Then their "interpretation of the Bible" would have been no mere "pretence." But the lady, *mirabile dictu*, is not yet convinced. If P. Didon does not think well of the study of St. Thomas, others do. What has P. Didon to say to that? Let us hear him. "Mais voilà : il est de mode aujourd'hui, dans un certain monde religieux, de parler de St. Thomas. (This is almost as good as the *professing* of St. Thomas and Blessed Albert to interpret the Scriptures.) Connaissez-vous St. Thomas? Avez-vous lu St. Thomas? J'ai lu St. Thomas.—Vous l'avez compris?—C'est superbe!—Pourriez-vous me dire ce qu'il entend par ces mots, *Dieu est un acte pur*?—Oh! c'est admirable, un acte pur?—Et comment l'expliquez-vous?—Ça ne s'explique pas, ça se sent, l'acte pur!...O imbécillité humaine! Et dire que tu règnes obstinément sur notre pauvre petite cervelle! N'importe, ma chère fille, il faut aimer cette humanité d'autant plus sotte qu'elle ne sait pas dire : Il ne sait pas" (p. 306). The man who could trifle like this may have been a good man, but he cannot have been a great man.

W. L. G.

Les Sacrements de l'Eglise Catholique. Par le Dr. NICOLAS GIHR. Tome I. Les Sacrements en général—Le Baptême—La Confirmation. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 10 Rue Cassette. 8vo. Pp. 440.

THIS is a dogmatic *exposé* of the sacraments. The author, who is no less a personage than the Vice-Rector of the University of Friburg-im-Breisgau, tells us in the preface what end he had in view and what plan he followed in composing it. It is intended primarily and principally for those of the clergy who are pastors of souls, and it aims at imbuing the priests who are engaged in the sacred ministry with a deeper and more vivid knowledge of those mysterious instruments which it is their happy privilege to administer constantly if not daily. It is evident that this purpose guided Dr. Gihr in the selection of his materials, and let us say at once that he has made good his programme. He has succeeded admirably in overcoming the

difficulties which lay in his way, in toning down the asperities, in rendering the inherent aridities attractive, and by the omission of many of those historical opinions which, though erroneous, are antiquated, he presents his subject-matter under the most alluring aspects.

A most formidable array of authorities he consulted is set forth (over one hundred and sixty), many of whom are of the most modern type, and what we gather from an impartial study of the text and footnotes is that the learned author has made himself master of their contents and knows well how to turn his intimate knowledge to its most practical account. In addition to this be it said that whosoever is desirous of obtaining competent acquaintance with the very pith of St. Bonaventure's views, could not do better than take this work as his *vade-mecum*. No doubt Dr. Gihl at the outset gives us to understand that the Seraphic Doctor, or, as Dionysius the Carthusian calls him, the *devotus ac dulcis doctor*, is resorted to merely to supplement St. Thomas; nevertheless, on account of the numerous and voluminous excerpts which appear on almost every page, it must strike the reader that the writings of the great Franciscan saint are the real basis of the present helpful volume. Of it, therefore, may it be said as the Bishop of Annecy said of the same author's work on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, that, not only is it a gem of the first water, but the more widely it is circulated among us the greater will be the increase of faith and the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ its supreme good.

F. A.

Fragments of Faith Forgotten. Some Short Sketches among the Gnostics, mainly of the First Two Centuries; a Contribution to the Study of Christian Origins based on the most recently recovered materials. by G. R. S. MEAD, B.A., M.R.A.S. London and Benares: Theosophical Publishing Society.

IT is no doubt an advantage to see ourselves as others see us; but for some important purposes it is even more desirable to see others as they see themselves, or at any rate to see them from some standpoint other than our own. This is especially the case with advocates of opposing systems of religion or philosophy. We all know how strangely Catholics and Catholic doctrines are often misunderstood by

some worthy Protestants, who can only judge of us by their own preconceived impressions. And we may shrewdly suspect that heterodox teachers are in their turn the subject of similar misconceptions, and sometimes suffer some injustice at the hands of Catholic theologians. For, on the one hand, the orthodox critic's knowledge of the false system which he is refuting is generally limited; and on the other hand his attention is mainly confined to the errors of his opponent. Not that this need affect the doctrinal issue. The errors are real, and rightly condemned; but taken by themselves the censure of the authorities and the theses of hostile theologians can hardly help us to an adequate estimate of the systems against which they are directed. And the student who has what may be called the historical sense will naturally look elsewhere for evidence that may save him from one-sided judgments and false impressions. In the case of modern Protestantism this is a comparatively easy matter; and if the Catholic who wishes to see both sides of the question has any difficulty, it can only be from the embarrassing abundance of the materials. But it is far otherwise with most of the extinct heresies of the early centuries. For here it might seem that the sole source of information was the necessarily one-sided picture presented in the pages of the Church Fathers who refuted these errors. We cannot regret the total disappearance of any erroneous systems, or look with any favour on a belated attempt to resuscitate them. But it would at least be some satisfaction to see all that can be said in their behalf. For in the dark picture drawn by the champions of orthodoxy there is certainly room for some lighter touches.

For this reason the book before us will be welcome to some readers who are very far from sharing in the author's peculiar views in matters of religion. And though its direct object is the rehabilitation of discredited heretical systems, it may haply help the discerning student to a better understanding of some perplexing pages of early theological history. It is a significant fact that the volume comes from the press of the Theosophical Publishing Society, and from the pen of an author who has helped to bring the Theosophy of the Vedas within the reach of English readers. This goes far to explain the sympathetic attitude adopted by this student of Gnosticism. For this ancient heresy was largely of Eastern origin; and apart from this historical connection, there is a natural affinity

between the Gnostics and the Votaries of Theosophy. While the author's standpoint is thus very different from that of an orthodox theologian, it is scarcely less remote from that of the impartial student of history. It is true indeed that he avails himself of the latest discoveries, he speaks with becoming respect of the "higher critic" and at least some parts of his own work have been executed with commendable care and accuracy. But though there are plain tokens of no little research, and some neglected facts are clearly brought out, the critical acumen of the historian is too speedily lost in the naïve enthusiasm of the Theosophist. It may be that the early Gnostics have suffered some injustice at the hands of orthodox writers, who have overlooked the good elements in their system and exaggerated the errors. But Mr. Mead is no cautious critic content to question the justice of some of the graver charges brought against the Gnostics. In his hands the whole history is reconstructed. His Gnostics represent all that is best and noblest in primitive theology. They are at once the channels of a Spiritual tradition more ancient than Christianity, and the true bearers of Gospel message. The orthodox Fathers who condemned them appear as narrow-minded innovators, and the Canonical Gospels as the work of a later historicising school. It is hardly necessary to add that the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* finds little favour in the sight of this theosophical writer.

In spite of some peculiarities of style and diction, the book is agreeably written. And the author's enthusiasm for his subject gives it an interest which is often wanting in works of greater accuracy and erudition. With an engaging modesty, Mr. Mead does not make any pretension of writing a serious history of these ancient systems. He has merely gathered together these studies in Gnosticism, from the pages of various periodicals in order that the general reader may "while away an hour or two among the Gnostics." This is all very well, when he is sketching "the background of the Gnosis," and giving us a lively picture of the Schools of Alexandria. But it is a little irritating to have the fundamental doctrines of Christianity revolutionised in this easy-going fashion.

We cannot follow Mr. Mead in his detailed exposition of the Gnostic Systems, or stay to consider his reconstruction of the history of the Christian origins. To deal with the question he has raised, would be to re-write the story of the first ages of the

Church, together with a defence of the authenticity of the Gospels, and of many important points of Catholic doctrines. But we may observe that, in one way, the line taken by this enthusiastic admirer of the Gnostics only serves to justify their condemnation. It is true that he has brought together many pleasing and beautiful passages from their writings; and we may well believe that he is warranted in treating many of the charges urged against them as unfounded, or exaggerated. But whatever may be thought of the heresiarchs and their opponents, the fact remains that their chief tenets were at variance with Catholic Christianity, and with the Gospels themselves. It may be doubted whether any of the vehement opponents of Gnosticism have shown this more effectively than Mr. Mead has done, however unconsciously, in the book before us.

Before we leave the work, we must add a word on the subject of the author's own conception of Catholicism. As we said at the outset, heretical systems, and the men who framed them, cannot be fairly estimated by those who only know them from one side and do not grasp them as a whole. It may be the result of his studies in writers against Gnosticism, but Mr. Mead appears to have a like one-sided view of Catholicism; and sees it only in its least amiable aspect, sternly anathematizing heresies. If we are not mistaken the chief force of the book as a plea for Gnosticism lies in the implied contrast between the broad views, the noble aspirations, the lofty spiritual conceptions of the Gnostics and the stern sectarianism of orthodoxy. But the comparison is surely misleading. For the case is altered when once we take a wider view of the Catholic system, and turn from the painful pages of censure and controversy to the profound speculations of theologians, to the lives and writings of Saints and mystics, and the music of Catholic hymnology. If Mr. Mead had taken these things into account many passages in this book would have remained unwritten. For we cannot doubt that one who can justly appreciate the beauties of Bardaisan's hymn of "The robe of Glory" would find much to win his admiration in Catholic hymns and mystical theology.

We may add that a wider acquaintance with our doctrinal literature would show him that the orthodox view of religious history is by no means so narrow as he supposes. It is the teaching of our theology that some knowledge of religious

truth is within the reach of all men, that grace is given to all, and all the races of mankind come from parents who had received a Divine Revelation. And not only in Gnostic heresies, but in the various forms of ancient religion in the pagan world, we can recognise elements of truth however distorted and overlaid with human error. In the bewildering maze of conflicting religious systems and opinions, it is impossible that all can be equally true and good. And the attempt at a broad comprehension and combination will only end by throwing a neutral shade of doubt over all that is in them. In effect this well-meaning liberalism is more destructive than the most vehement anathema. On the contrary, the stronghold of Catholic truth affords the surest standpoint for a truly comprehensive appreciation of all that is good and true in the various fragmentary systems of religion. A particular interest attaches to Mr. Mead's notice of the Coptic "Pistis Sophia," and the apocryphal "Acts of Judas Thomas;" while the "Acts of St. John" supply a humorous element in the gruesome legend of "John and the Bugs." The copious bibliography of the literature of Gnosticism will be a welcome help to the student who wishes to pursue the subject further.

W. H. K.

Akten des Munchener Katholischen Gelehrten Congresses.

An account of the Fifth International Scientific Congress at Munich from September 24th to September 29th, 1900. Munich: Herder and Co. 1901.

FOR the fifth time Catholics from different countries, who are engaged in teaching or studying subjects not strictly theological, have met to help and encourage each other in their work by exchanging their views. The number of papers read and the membership show that the work done on former occasions has been appreciated and that the movement which originated these reunions is growing in extension and strength. The number of papers read or handed in has increased, since the first Congress at Paris in 1888, from 79 to 260; and the membership has risen from 1,605 to 3,367. The great number of papers and the reduction of the annual subscription made it impossible to continue the old practice of giving a full report of all the papers. Only those read at the general meetings are given in full, whereas of those read at

the special meetings of the ten different sections we find only short sketches. It was suggested that they should appear in full in suitable periodicals so that they might become better known in the circles for which they were intended. In many cases this plan has been carried out already. Some improvements in the arrangements have been decided upon which will come into force at the next Congress, to be held in Rome in 1903. A new section will be added viz., Paedagogy, which up till now was included in Philosophy. The choice of subjects for the papers will no longer be left entirely to the discretion of the members (*i.e.*, to haphazard), but a number of important topics will be chosen beforehand by the Council and entrusted to members most competent to handle them.

So much as to the work of the sections.

The general meetings were attended by the Apostolic nuncio, several Bishops, members of the Royal family, and representatives of the Government. The President D. de Lapparent, Professor at the Paris *Institut Catholique*, spoke of the work of the Congress and its history.

Dr. Otto Willmann, Professor of Philosophy at the German University of Prague, made a remarkable speech, entitled "*Catholic truth : the key to the history of Philosophy*." Taking for his motto the words of the Munich Scientist, Joseph Görres (one of the chief promoters of the Catholic revival in Germany during the last century), "Dig deeper and you will everywhere come to Catholic ground," he showed that only Catholic truth could fully and correctly solve those problems which occupied the minds of the most prominent men of all nations and ages : The permanent and perishable element in man, the essence and origin of truth.

Nearly related to this subject was that chosen by Dr. von Hertling, of Munich, on "Christianity and Greek Philosophy," showing the influence of the latter on the terminology of the Fathers, and, *vice versa*, the influence of Christianity in clearing up and perfecting the ideas of Philosophy.

Mgr. Duchesne spoke on the origin of blue books, and Dr. Toniolo, of Pisa, on the progress of Political Economy at the end of the 19th century ; the latter paper was reprinted in the *Revista Internazionale*.

The last paper, read by Professor Hartmann Grisar, S.J., on "Hyperconservatism in history," has caused more excitement than any other. It provoked tremendous applause from the

assembly as well as most severe criticisms in different papers. No one, however, can seriously take exception to the statements of the learned Jesuit. The only question is whether they were opportune. Father Grisar himself stated that he did not speak to a public meeting, but to a Congress of Catholic scientists, and he wished the reporters not to spread his paper broadcast amongst the masses. The press, however, found his remarks most interesting, and did not hesitate to mention some of the very points which might easily be misunderstood, and which, separated from the context, might do real harm.

We have heard different sides on this question, and certainly it seems that the proper place for the paper would have been amongst those of the historical section, where it would have been understood and appreciated by those for whom it was intended.

L. N.

The Vicar of St. Luke's. By SIBYL CREED. London : Longmans. 8vo. Pp. 375.

IN "The Vicar of St. Luke's" we have one of the best Catholic novels of the day. The book is not in any way directly controversial, but, like all true literature, it faithfully depicts current facts and problems of modern life, and these teach their own lesson and possess their own controversial value. The story turns upon the happenings in an Anglican parish, in which the spiritually-minded vicar has to contend with a hysterical parishioner of the dangerous kind, and a churchwarden of that brutally Protestant type which is so Luther-like in its passionate hatred and coarseness. The interest is well sustained throughout, and the characterisation is excellent—much better perhaps than the construction. The analysis of the reasons which urge the vicar to become a Catholic is admirably stated. These reasons are precisely of an order which a high-souled and unworldly clergyman would keenly appreciate. On the other hand, they are of the kind which an ease-loving, worldly-minded man, moving on the lower levels of human solace, and the cultus of things as they are, would utterly fail to understand. (A writer in the *Cornhill* naïvely confesses to this inability.) We trust that the authoress who writes under the name of Sibyl Creed, will continue to put to such excellent use her undoubted skill and ability. Such books supply a very real want, and do a very real service.

X.

Concilium Tridentinum : Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatum Nova Collectio. Edidit Societas Goerresiana. Tomus Primus. Diariorum pars prima. Herculis Severoli Commentarius, Angeli Massarelli Diaria I-IV. Collegit, edidit, illustravit SEBASTIANUS MERKLE. Friburgi-Brisgoviaë. Sumptibus Herder. Fol. Pp. cxxix—931.

IN the above, we welcome the first instalment of what promises to be one of the most important and most monumental works of this century. The long-wished-for publication of the Acts and Records of the Council of Trent has at last been taken in hand, and, we are glad to say, under such competent editorship as the German Catholic Society, the Görres Gesellschaft. Naturally, a General Council of such momentous importance as that of Trent has long since had its historians, and around it has grown a voluminous literature, of which such works as those of Pallavicino, Palleotti, Le Plat, Theiner, and Doellinger are familiar to all historical students. Yet it was known that the history of the Council had still to be written, and that a vast quantity of Tridentine documents remained unpublished. In the Vatican Archives alone, some 151 volumes of Records are registered as relating to the Council. To this have to be added the scattered records existing in many of the public and private libraries of Europe. The liberality of Leo XIII. has made possible the undertaking of the gigantic work of casting these materials into order, and of giving them to the public. The Görres Society has chosen a number of competent editors, who have been for many years past at work upon their allotted task, and, as a result, the first volume—a folio of more than a thousand pages—has already issued from the press of B. Herder & Co., to be followed by a volume each year until the whole publication is completed. The beginning thus happily made is an event of the first importance in the annals of Catholic historiography.

The editors have been wisely inspired to begin their colossal work by the publication of the Diaries. It is well known that amongst the records of the Council some of the most interesting and the most valuable as shedding light on its inner working, are the Diaries written at the time by prelates or officials who took part in its deliberations. Of these, several, either in whole or in part, are already known to the public. In the present work, these will be given in full. They will occupy no less than

three volumes of the whole collection. Then will follow six volumes devoted to the *Acta* strictly so called. To these will be added several volumes of *Epistolæ*. A completing volume will contain a Dogmatic Treatise, written at the time of the Council, and of special value to the right understanding of its decrees.

The first volume contains, besides exhaustive prelegomena upon sources and materials, the Diaries of Hercules Severoli and the first four Diaries of Angelo Massarelli. The first was Promotor to the Council; the second was Secretary of the Cardinal Legate, de Sancta Cruce. Both had exceptional opportunities of seeing and knowing and recording what passed both inside and outside the Sessions. The entries in both Diaries are often brief and cursory, but when the Diaries are read as a whole the impression on the mind of the reader is sufficiently clear, and there is derived from their perusal all that satisfaction and interest which comes from contact with the first-hand and contemporary record, and all those illuminating glimpses of actual life and environment given, or even unconsciously suggested, by a writer who writes of the things which he sees and hears. For the nonce, we have contented ourselves with thus indicating in merest outline the nature of the work, reserving to ourselves in a future number of this REVIEW the opportunity of giving to it the fuller notice which its importance deserves. X.

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- 1.—**The Catholic Creed.** By the Very Rev. Father J. PROCTER, S.T.L. Second Edition, revised. London and Leamington: Art & Book Company. 1901. Pp. 354.
 - 2.—**The Elements of Christian Doctrine.** By Rev. T. A. LACEY, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1901. Pp. 298.

I.—**T**HE very fact that this book appears now in its second edition testifies to its merits and usefulness. "The Catholic Creed" is, as we are told by its author himself, an answer to the question which must perplex many: What do Catholics really believe? It is meant for earnest seekers after the truth; and to them I earnestly recommend it.

II. Mr. Lacey's publication will engage us for a somewhat longer time. The writer describes his work as an attempt to set out the matter of which dogma is the formal expression. He takes a general survey of Christian doctrine as taught and professed by the various sections of Christendom, endeavouring

to give it an expression suitable, as much as possible, to each of them, and to do this in an uncontroversial way. But this naturally leads him into a system of teaching which may be characterised as eclectic. In many instances he simply records the divergent "opinions"; in some points he approaches nearer to the Catholic doctrine than his co-religionists are used to do. Thus, for instance, he teaches the Sacraments to be seven in number (p. 262), speaks of the "Sacrifice of the New Testament"; (p. 257) with reference to what he terms the "Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," he says: "We have but to believe, *to adore*, and to receive. (The italics are mine.) Moreover, he speaks of a Purgatory (p. 190), and pays due veneration to Mary by calling her "Theotokos" (p. 147) and "the ever blessed Mother of God" (p. 168). I must not omit mentioning at this place the treatise on Conscience (pp. 265-274), with which we can fully agree.

But now, after having said this, I must turn to other points which commend themselves to us in a less degree. For clearness' sake let me arrange some of them under the following heads: Christian Faith, Holy Church, Holy Trinity.

1. *Christian Faith.* We are able to accept Mr. Lacey's definition of Faith, besides many things he writes on this subject; but we must take exception to what he says with reference to the Ground, the Motives, the Rule, and what may be termed the Source of Faith.

As to the Ground of Faith we read on page 59: "There is only one ground [for believing]; it is the conviction of the disciple that God has taught these things through Jesus Christ our Lord." But by saying this, Mr. Lacey only shifts the question one step further; for we ask: What is the ground of this conviction? He cannot mean to say that the conviction he speaks of rests on a supernatural principle; for if it did, it would be synonymous with faith itself; but faith cannot be the ground of faith. It only remains that this conviction is that one at which we arrive by arguments of reason and by testimonies of history. Thus we are led back in a circle to the preliminaries of faith, "*praeambula fidei*," the natural principles, or ground of a natural conviction. This leaves the question, what the Ground of Faith is, still unanswered, for we ask for a supernatural ground of the supernatural virtue of Faith. Mr. Lacey repeatedly repudiates the idea of the authority of the Church as the Ground of Faith, without, however, letting us know who

it is, or who they are, by whom this idea is entertained. As far as Catholics are concerned, I can give the assurance that they are not accustomed to say the Ground of their Faith to be the authority of the Church, unless, perhaps, it should come to pass that, be it for want of accurate distinction or for the sake of shortness, one who speaks the German language uses the word "*Grund*" (= ground) instead of the compound "*Beweggrund*" (= motive). Catholics assign God Himself as the ultimate Ground of Faith—God, whom from arguments of reason they know to exist; God, whom from testimonies of history they know to have revealed Himself to man.

The Motives of Faith we read on p. 58 to be: the inherent reasonableness of the matter proposed, and the authority of the proponent. As to the latter we are in full agreement with the writer, but not so as to the former. The inherent reasonableness of the matter proposed is a natural motive, which we classify among the preliminaries of faith. Catholics, when specifying the Motives of Belief, mention in the first place God's unerring truthfulness, and in the second the Church's divinely-given infallibility. These are two supernatural motives.

The "*Rule of Faith*" is (p. 28) maintained to be: "*Holy Scripture interpreted by the Church.*" Now, the Rule of Faith must necessarily be something which is as old as Faith itself; it must be permanent, stable, subject to no change. That much, I take it, is granted on all sides. But the New Testament, which is the chief part of Holy Scripture, is not as old as Christian Faith; hence, whether interpreted by the Church or no, it cannot be our Rule of Faith. Furthermore, granted that this Holy Scripture is the Rule of Faith, it can only have been so since Holy Scripture has existed; it must then have superseded another Rule of Faith which served the faithful Christians who lived before Holy Scripture of the New Testament came into existence. The Rule of Faith, then, is neither permanent, nor stable, nor exempt from change—conclusions which can only be stated, to be forthwith rejected. And if, in spite of this, one should insist on Holy Scripture as the Rule of Faith, one can only do so logically by attributing a meaning to the term "*Rule of Faith,*" which is not ours, and which we decline to accept. With us Rule of Faith is something co-existing with Faith; it is an inseparable concomitant of faith; it is like Faith itself, something God-given. We have the command solemnly given us by the heavenly

Father : "Hear ye Him !" *i.e.*, Jesus, His beloved Son. And Jesus, referring to His Apostles, says : "Who heareth you, heareth Me." Herewith the Rule of Faith is implicitly given ; it is the living voice of the "ecclesia docens," the actual, authoritative teaching of the Church. No mortal being is empowered to change it ; Holy Church herself cannot do so.

Our last point concerning Faith is its source. Let me begin by stating that according to the Catholic doctrine there is a twofold source : Holy Scripture and Tradition. Mr. Lacey, after having given us (pp. 20, etc.) a good exposition of the genesis of both early Tradition and Holy Scriptures, says (p. 58) : "It [Holy Scripture] is sufficient for the matter proposed, not for the proposition." In other words : As Holy Scripture, interpreted by the Church, is the Rule of Faith, so is Holy Scripture taken by itself the source—the only Source of Faith. "It contains all things necessary to salvation" (p. 61). Yet he does not classify this statement among the revealed truths of the gospel, admitting that, speaking from his standpoint, in this case it would have to be found in Holy Scripture. Nevertheless, he maintains the sufficiency of Holy Scripture to be a fact, and invites us to recognise it as such. We have now necessarily to examine his arguments, one of which he gives on page 20, the other on page 60. Before entering upon them it will be well to premise the following brief statements. Revelation is complete. The Canon of sacred books is closed. Inspiration has ceased. There exists a record of revelation. This record is twofold, unwritten and written record, Tradition and Holy Scripture. The elder of the two is Tradition. Tradition as it existed before the sacred books were written was a complete (unwritten) record, complete, however, only in a restricted sense, *i.e.*, complete only in so far as truths necessary to salvation are concerned. The very same completeness is now found in Holy Scripture and Tradition taken conjointly. So far we all agree, but not so as to the following. "To make the record complete (in the sense pointed out above), we must necessarily take tradition in addition to Holy Scripture." This is what Catholics maintain and believe. "Holy Scripture, taken disjoined from or without Tradition (as it now exists), is a complete record." This is what Protestants say, and what is Mr. Lacey's contention.

Now we are prepared to listen to his arguments. He says (p. 20) : "The teaching of Our Lord being a complete revela-

tion, the record of it must also be complete." Note that the term "record" is ambiguous, since it may mean an unwritten or a written record. The writer continues: "If anything originally unrecorded were afterwards recovered this could only be by a fresh revelation." Here the term "unrecorded" shares the same ambiguity with the term "record." "Unrecorded" may mean "not recorded" in the unwritten record as it existed anterior to Holy Scripture. In this sense the statement is true, but does not prove what he has undertaken to prove. It may also mean "not recorded in the written record, Holy Scripture." In this sense the statement is untrue, and amounts to nothing more than an inference from the very thesis which is proposed to be proved, viz., the thesis that Holy Scripture is sufficient, that it contains all revealed truths necessary to salvation. Hence the whole argumentation collapses, it being neither more nor less than a "begging of the question."

It must be added that the word "recovered," which occurs in the statement quoted, becomes a misplaced term when applied to our contention. The question is not one of recovering, but of affirming a truth heretofore generally believed, but afterwards doubted or denied by some. The divinity of our Lord Jesus was not recovered; it was affirmed against those who denied it. Neither were the supremacy of the Pope, the insufficiency of Holy Scripture, the validity of the baptism of infants recovered; they were affirmed against those who deny them, who-soever they may be. These are but a few instances out of many.

On page 60 Mr. Lacey writes: ". . . the sufficiency of Holy Scripture in this regard being a fact, the Church [of England] renounces, by a self-denying ordinance, the power of proposing as matter of faith anything which goes beyond." Now, whilst giving the ordinance as described, the Church must have either recognised or not recognised the sufficiency, etc., as a fact. If she did recognise it so, she could not possibly claim a legitimate power of going beyond Holy Scripture, nor could she renounce a power which in fact she had not; nor was the ordinance a self-denying one. There was room not, indeed, for a self-denying ordinance, but only for a due acknowledgment of not having the power to go beyond Holy Scripture. If she did not recognise the sufficiency, etc., as a fact, she had no right of renouncing or disclaiming the power in question. The act of renouncing that power was not a self-denying ordinance, but a base betrayal of her trust. She can plead not guilty only under

the condition that, denying to have received the power as described from God, she maintains that she obtained it from men. To what this would lead us I will not stop to discuss.

As far as the Catholic Church is concerned, she neither has renounced the power of going beyond Holy Scripture, nor could she ever do so. She will, however, never go *against* Holy Scripture, yet she asserts the power of going *beyond* it, and by doing so proves a faithful keeper of her God-given trust.

We have not yet finished. On page 61 we are informed that the Church of England teaches the sufficiency of Holy Scripture only as an "opinion." This opens quite a new vista. An "opinion" is not an absolute certainty. The possibility, then, remains that Holy Scripture is after all not sufficient, that there may be truths necessary to salvation not contained in it. There is not the slightest prospect of raising, by an authoritative declaration, the "opinion" to a certainty, with the character of a revealed truth. For such a declaration, if at all feasible, would only give the lie to the very thesis which formed the subject of the declaration. It would render the lost case doubly lost. There remains, therefore, an irremediable uncertainty about things necessary to salvation which may well make one feel uneasy. The position thus incurred by those who entertain the "opinion" is anything but enviable. But it is a position which is not merely their own choice, but their own creation.

2. *Holy Church.* To the treatment of this subject a whole chapter of our book is devoted, viz., the fourth among the five into which the book is divided. What the writer means by "Church" is nowhere clearly stated, unless, perhaps, he makes Thorndike's vague definition (p. 33) his own. In the place, however, where, returning to the same subject, he speaks of definitions of the Church (p. 216), he is careful to give us none of his own. No wonder. A Church, as existing in the mind of Mr. Lacey, does not easily admit of a definition, it is something indefinable. Yet so much may be gathered from what he says, that it is approximately co-extensive with Christian society. It is declared (p. 200) to be visible, yet, as we have been told on p. 41, "no man is within the Church by aggregation to any smaller body, but only by aggregation to the Church itself;" nor do we find anywhere a visible head of that visible Church mentioned. Furthermore, it is organised (p. 218); there is its invisible head, Jesus Christ; there is a visible Hierarchy; yet there is again no visible head, no Vicar of Christ on earth. The very keystone of the vaulting is missing.

Let me mention only two more of its attributes: It is infallible, and it is catholic. Both its infallibility and catholicity differ widely from the attributes which among us go by the same names. The infallibility is only a limited one.* For we are informed (p. 55) that "we are not bound to suppose the proposition of the Church sufficient in all circumstances for all men." In certain circumstances, then, *i.e.*, just when it is most needed, the infallibility of the Church forsakes us, leaving us in the lurch; destitute of supernatural guidance, we are abandoned to that of our private judgment. Thus the infallible Church has proved a sham. As to the catholicity of Mr. Lacey's Church, we are surprised by its singular and altogether new feature of being able to do without the Pope, the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ. The Church is catholic, not in that old-fashioned sense to which St. Ambrose has given expression by saying: "*Ubi Petrus ibi Ecclesia*," and this centuries before B. Peter Canisius wrote his Catechism. It is the very newness of that vaunted catholicity which brands it as un-catholic.

3. *Holy Trinity*. With regard to the third person of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Ghost, we are taught by the Catholic Church that He proceeds from the Father and the Son. Anglican formularies teach the same. Our author's teaching, however, differs from them. He writes (p. 81): ". . . The Father is the Source whence the Holy Ghost proceeds." And he adds: "*We are here using terms, not of theology, nor even of the Church's proposition, but of actual revelation.*" (Italics are mine.) He then proceeds to prove his thesis, no doubt to his own satisfaction, by quoting and explaining Scriptural texts. Herewith, then, he lets "actual revelation" override the "Church's proposition," and by doing so discredits at once not only the authority of the Church but also Holy Scripture itself, together with the "actual revelation" gathered from the sacred books. For he (as a disciple) receives Holy Scripture first and last on the authority of the Church (see p. 25). If, then, the Church errs in teaching that the Holy Ghost proceeds, not from the Father alone, but from the Father and the Son, she may just as well err in teaching that Holy Scriptures contain the word of God, *i.e.*, actual revelation. After the Church's proposition has been set at naught, Holy Scriptures, and with them revelation, are forfeited, and nothing remains except the last resort, but at the same time the glory

* Limited, not in the sense as we take it, but in a sense which is incompatible with its very notion, making it a fallible infallibility.

and boast, of all genuine Protestants—"private judgment." The value and trustworthiness of private judgment is illustrated by the fact that it is capable of appealing from the Church's proposition to actual revelation—actual revelation gathered from Holy Scriptures—Holy Scriptures received first and last on the authority of the Church.

Let us, at this place, consider what Mr. Lacey has to tell us (p. 64) concerning the Council of Ariminum, the authority of which he maintains to have been overridden by the "general teaching" of the Church. But he omits to make mention of the crucial point, the decisive fact that the "general teaching of the Church" was strenuously upheld by the then Pope Liberius, and that by his supreme authority the dogmatical statement of the Council was declared null and void. A dogmatical statement of a Council approved of and confirmed by the Pope can never be set at naught through non-acceptance on the part of the faithful; nor does history show this to have happened in past ages.

There are a great many items which, for fear of becoming too long, I pass by, such as supererogatory works, merits, evangelical counsels, state of perfection, etc. This only remark I will make, that any system of moral theology stands self-condemned which betrays its defenders into running even counter to common sense—by ignoring, for instance, that the term "reward" postulates and implicitly indicates the term "merit," or by defacing the distinction between "counsel" and "command."

Seekers after truth who may read "The Elements of Christian Doctrine" ought not to fail to read also a book treating on the same subject, written by a Catholic author, such as, for instance, "The Catholic Creed," a short notice of which has been given above. A comparison of the one with the other cannot fail of doing good to the reader. To recommend "The Elements of Christian Doctrine" to Catholic readers in general is beyond my competence, as the book, though professedly treating on religious subjects, bears no "imprimatur" given by the competent authority. Theologians, lay or clerical, may read it, and may do so with really good result. For the perusal of the book cannot but make both their esteem for books of genuine Catholic theology, great as it may be, grow still greater, and their love of Holy Catholic Church, the pillar of truth, the home of peace, intense as it may be, grow still more intense. "How lovely are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts!" I. T.

Renaissance Types. By WILLIAM SAMUEL LILLY. London : Fisher Unwin. 8vo. Pp. xxiv. and 400.

WE must frankly own that we cannot join in the chorus of praise which has greeted the appearance of this work.

The press has descanted abundantly of its merits, and in particular of its liberality of tone, its judicial impartiality and freedom from papistical prejudices. This, indeed, is the principal merit claimed by the author, who professes the "dogma of impartiality" in terms of the most fervent conviction. There is, therefore, nothing surprising in the fact that the secular press should have hailed the book with enthusiasm. There is no spectacle so delightful to the average Protestant as that of the liberal Catholic who sits upon the judicial bench to try the Church of God, and who is constantly descending from that bench to enter the witness-box in the cause of her adversaries. For this boasted impartiality too often consists of a readiness to believe and adopt any calumny thrown against the Church and her ministers by any obscure or malignant heretic ; and a tendency to chronicle such calumnies with apparent pleasure, while the refutations of Catholic apologists are passed over in silence, or waved aside with contempt. This does not seem to be the kind of impartiality which truth demands of the Catholic historian. We do not think that a son of the Church is meant to take an impartial attitude towards those who call his mother a harlot. If this was indeed the result of patient and original research, one could not quarrel with it, but it seems to us rather the case of a littérateur who has no such pretensions, but who flippantly gives away the case of the Church in order to win a reputation for liberality from the non-Catholic public.

These are strong words, but we think they are justified if only by the writer's treatment of the unfortunate Tetzl.

Here is Mr. Lilly's account of him (p. 258) :

"Conspicuous among the Sub-Commissaries to whom the preaching of the pardons was entrusted was John Tetzl, of Leipzig, a friar of the order of St. Dominic. His character has been differently estimated by Catholic and Protestant writers from his time to our own. But whether he was grave and pious, or dissolute and unprincipled, certain it is that he was endowed with gifts especially qualifying him for success in the 'holy business.' He appears to have united in himself the most telling qualities of a cheap-jack and a revivalist preacher ; and had he lived in this age and country he would probably have been at least a major in the Salvation Army."

Mr. Lilly then goes on to give a highly-coloured account of Tetzel's preaching, which reads like an extract from some Protestant controversialist, and after detailing the various calumnies spread abroad by the heretics about it (*e.g.*, the famous story that he said that as soon as the money chinked in the chest a soul flew up from purgatory to paradise), calmly adds : "Whether or no Tetzel in his zeal for the 'holy business' ventured upon these and the like startling statements, certain it is that they were confidently attributed to him. Certain it is, too, that during the years 1516-17, the spirit of Luther was deeply stirred by them."

"Confidently attributed," forsooth ! Why did not Mr. Lilly add that the very chest in question was preserved and shown at Jüterbogk to prove the truth of the story ; and that as in course of time it got decayed and worn out fresh ones were substituted as required by the Protestant "relic-mongers" ?

Mr. Lilly says, "It appears to me as clear as day that Tetzel's preaching was the direct cause of Luther's revolt." He then dismisses Janssens and other "historians of name who judge otherwise." But he does not hint at the fact that Luther himself denied that Tetzel was the cause. Luther, writing to Tetzel, who was dying, told him not to disturb himself with the thought that he had been the cause of his (Luther's) revolt, because it was not his doing at all, "the child had quite another father." Is it "impartial" to make no allusion to this fact ? But Mr. Lilly prefers the authority of Dr. Beard to that of Janssens. He actually goes so far as to say "Dr. Beard is unquestionably well warranted when he writes : 'It would be easy to adduce many authoritative documents in which for popular purposes the nature and effect of indulgences are spoken of in a way quite inconsistent with the scholastic theory.'" It is a pity these documents are not produced.

"What did the ignorant peasant," he continues, "who bought his 'Ablass brief,' know of the difference between guilt and penalty ; between punishment on this side the grave and on the other ? What he thought he was buying was forgiveness of his past sins, and at the same time liberty to commit more."

These are Dr. Beard's words ; but Mr. Lilly says "we may adopt them." It is quite true that there were many abuses connected with the preaching of the indulgences, and it may possibly be true that there was some confusion in the minds of the ignorant ; but what is not true, what is really unpardonable

in a Catholic writer, is to assert that these abuses were the result of the preaching of Tetzel and his colleagues. It is an atrocious calumny to suggest that the Dominican pretended to sell pardon for past sins, and liberty to commit more.

Bishop Hefele says that anyone who reads Tetzel's Antitheses against Luther's must agree that this man knew thoroughly the very difficult doctrine as to indulgences. In the instructions given by him to parish priests and confessors, he directs them to warn the faithful that, in order to gain the indulgence, it was of strict obligation to go to confession, to receive Holy Communion, and to fast the day before. The fact is, Dr. Beard, like other Protestant writers, has mixed up two things—indulgences applied to the living, and indulgences applied to the souls in Purgatory.

As the writer in the *Kirchen-lexicon* explains, there is every evidence that, with regard to the first point, Tetzel and his colleagues taught the true doctrine of the Church, *i.e.*, that no one could gain the indulgence for himself without being in a state of grace, receiving the Sacraments, and complying with the other conditions. But it is also evident that Tetzel held and taught a common opinion of the schools at the time, that a person who was not in a state of grace could, by giving an alms, gain an indulgence applicable to the holy souls in Purgatory. That this led to abuses is not difficult to understand; but it is a very different thing indeed from asserting that people were taught that they could buy pardon for their sins, and liberty to commit more, without even being sorry for the past. It is a very different thing from saying as Mr. Lilly does, in Dr. Beard's words, that "whatever spiritual element there had been in the transaction soon faded out of it. . . . Soon, even attrition was taken for granted, and the magic documents were sold indiscriminately to all comers."

If Mr. Lilly had condescended to consult an English Catholic writer, he would have found that Father Thurston, who really has given research to the matter, has shown how clear and well understood was the Church's teaching in Tetzel's time. But, with the generosity of those who surrender what is not their own, he prefers to give up the whole case.

It is characteristic, too, of the writer that he uses Protestant terms when writing of Catholic things. Thus, instead of the "Catholic doctrine of indulgences," he says, "the Roman theory"; he speaks of "the Roman Church," when he means

"the Catholic"; and quotes with amusement the "pungent epigrams" which calumniated Popes in the vilest terms. His ideal is evidently Erasmus, whom he holds up as an object of unstinted admiration, and it is certainly true that the book breathes the spirit of that great and wayward genius.

We have written so much on what seems to us the great blemish of the book, that we have little space for more, but it would not be fair to part from it without acknowledging its many good points. The sketch of More's life is quite charming, and we also enjoyed that of Michael Angelo's. Mr. Lilly's castigations of Froude are very amusing, and very well merited. No one can fail to be interested in a book which deals with five such supremely interesting men as Michael Angelo, Erasmus, Reuchlin, Luther and More; though whether these men are, as Mr. Lilly thinks, really the most characteristic types of the Renaissance may perhaps be doubted. There are some very bad misprints (such as "Regulars" for *Regulus*), which rather spoil the very handsome appearance of the volume.

X.

Short Line to the Roman Catholic Faith. By Rev. J. W. BOOK. St. Louis: Herder.

Side Switches of the Short Line. By the Same.

Thousand and One Objections to Secret Societies. By the Same.

Mollie's Mistake; or, Mixed Marriages. By the Same.

The Book of Books. By the Same.

THESE five volumes of the "Short Line" Series, while all good and readable, are of a varying excellence. The book which gives its name to this controversial series, and heads our list, is distinctly out of the common-place. The reader is kept continually on the alert. Honest inquirers will find in this book a friend and a guide.

In "Side Switches," the author first discusses the value of certain non-Catholic systems, which he calls "Branch Roads." Lutherans, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and Catholics, take part in very natural and well-sustained dialogues. Non-Catholic writers are frequently quoted in support of historical assertions. The latter part of the work is taken up with an explanation of Church Rites and Ceremonies, written in a breezy and conversational style.

Though we have met with many works dealing with the evils of Secret Societies, we do not remember one better calculated to protect the simple children of the Church than Father Book's "Thousand and One Objections to Secret Societies." The blasphemous oath, the unmanly surrender of one's freedom to an occult and unknown force, the egoistic philanthropy which mark Freemasonry and its congeners, are ruthlessly exposed and unsparingly condemned. The account of these societies and their aims is taken from official documents. We regret one slip, and that is the introduction of the infamous Leo Taxil's name, even though it is used only in connection with a side argument. English Freemasonry would have fewer defenders amongst Catholics if to Father Wyndham's "Catechism on Masonry" they would add this little volume.

Dr. Lambert, the well-known opponent of Ingersoll, has some words about "Mollie's Mistake," which will bring its object and worth clearly before our readers. "A book of only 134 pp. . . . divided into seven chapters, in which [Father Book] discusses 'Mixed Marriages in the Old Law,' 'Mixed Marriages in the New Law,' 'Divorce,' 'Causes of Mixed Marriages,' 'Dispensation,' 'Duties of the Married,' 'Discord in the Family.' His chapter on the causes of mixed marriages is admirable. . . . A genuine *multum in parvo*."

Father Book evidently foresees that paganism, in the guise of Buddhism, is the enemy which the Church will have to confront before the close of this century, and is preparing his readers for the conflict.

With this idea he has brought out his "Book of Books," wherein the cheap encomiums so many pass on Buddhism and Mahometanism are rated at their just value, and the philosophical contradictions and impracticable morality of the dreamy and inclusive creeds of the East are clearly pointed out. Protestantism, too, is shown to possess no arguments capable of convincing the infidel of logically-trained mind. G.

The Close of the Middle Ages, 1273-1494. By R. LODGE, M.A., Professor of History at the University of Edinburgh. Rivingtons. 8vo. Pp. xi., 570. Price 6s. net.

THIS volume forms Period III. of the excellent series of "Periods of European History," edited by Mr. Hassall, of Christchurch. The volumes contain the results of the latest investigations, and form a continuous history of mediæval

and modern Europe. The period before us is one of transition, and, as Professor Lodge complains, it is extraordinarily difficult to narrate its events in anything like orderly and intelligible sequence. "Such unity as had been given to Western Europe by the mediæval Empire and Papacy disappeared with the Great Interregnum in the middle of the thirteenth century; and such unity as was afterwards supplied by the growth of formal international relations cannot be said to begin before the invasion of Naples by Charles VIII. of France at the end of the fifteenth century. In the interval between these two dates there is apparent chaos. . . . The dominant characteristic of the age is its diversity, and it is hard to find any principle of co-ordination."

This will be easily understood when it is remembered that the period contains such striking and varied episodes as the hundred years' war between England and France, the Great Schism of the West, the Councils of Basle and Constance, the marvellous achievements of the Republics of Venice and Florence, the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and on the other hand the conquest of the Eastern Empire by the Turks. The writer has done his best to arrange and co-ordinate these multiplied episodes, to show the gradual development of Europe, and to put into due prominence the essential fact which it is necessary to grasp in this period, *i.e.*, the rise of great and coherent States like France, Spain and England.

The Catholic reviewer naturally turns to his treatment of the Papacy. It is one of the most troubled and critical periods of its history. It seems to us that Professor Lodge does his best to be fair and impartial, though he naturally looks upon the troubles of the Church from the point of view of an outsider. He thus introduces his account of the Hussite movement (p. 206):

"The fundamental issues involved were those which have been at the bottom of most subsequent disputes in the Christian Church. How far was the Christianity of the day unlike the Christianity to be found in the record of Christ and His Apostles? And the difference, if any—was it a real and necessary difference, consequent on the development of society, or was it the result of abuses and innovations introduced by fallible men? The orthodox took their stand upon the unity and authority of the Church. The Church was the true foundation of Christ and the inheritor of His spirit. Therefore what the Church believed and taught, that alone was the true Christian doctrine; and the forms and ceremonies of the Church were the necessary aids to

faith. The reformers, on the other hand, looked to Scripture for the fundamental rules of life and conduct. Any deviation from these rules, no matter on what authority, must be superfluous, and might very probably be harmful."

It seems to us that this is well put, though the writer would have done better if he had added that the Church also professes to rule her conduct by Holy Scripture, which she claims to interpret with authority, whereas the "reformers" interpreted it in a hundred various ways according to the private judgment of each.

Professor Lodge throughout his work, save in his final chapter on the Renaissance in Italy, confines himself to chronicling facts and abstains from unnecessary comments. He is thus able to condense an immense amount of information within comparatively few pages, and to give a comprehensive view of a vast and troubled period. The usefulness of the work is greatly enhanced by the valuable Appendix of Genealogical Tables, and by four maps, showing the States of France, Burgundy, Italy and the Swiss Confederation, as they were at this period. D. B. C.

A Study of the Ethics of Spinoza (*Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata*). By HAROLD H. JOACHIM, Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. 1 vol. Pp. 316. Clarendon Press, 1901. 10s. 6d. net.

"SCIENCE for . . . Spinoza was practically equivalent to mathematics. To treat philosophy in the geometrical method is therefore the result of . . . (his) determination to regard philosophy as a science—a demonstrable body of truth" (note p. 12), which quotation is an indication of the thoroughly unscientific method by which Spinoza undertook to expound ethics. "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*." Mr. Joachim tells us, however, in his preface (p. vi.), that, so far as he is aware, "no English book appeals *only* to readers who wish to make a special study of Spinoza's philosophy"; and in consequence he hopes it may help to fill a gap. Let us hope that there are not many desirous of indulging in this special study, except for purposes of comparison, or to see to what extravagant lengths an isolated and pedantic mind can go. The English temper, if we are to judge it by its more recent utterances, is not in the highest degree philosophical, yet it will hardly fail to find that a collection of more gratuitous assumptions and inferences is hardly conceivable.

Mr. Joachim is in many places obscure and, though with apologies, verbose: still we ought, perhaps, rather to criticise the expediency of annotating the *Ethics* at all, than the failure practically inseparable from an attempt to explain such distorted doctrines. One thing, however, we cannot allow to pass without a protest. There is a language of philosophy, and there is the English language, and there is no necessity of inventing barbarisms to convey exceedingly well understood ideas which already have properly significative terms. At any rate, no such necessity exists in writing for those *only* who wish to make a special study of Spinoza's philosophy, and who can reasonably be presumed to have some acquaintance with philosophical terminology. "*Fieri autem potest,*" says Cicero, "*ut recte quis sentiat et id, quod sentit, polite eloqui non possit.*" We are unable to condone the use of such terms by the fellow of an Oxford College on the ground of not being able to express himself *polite*: and we can only point out that their wilful employment tends to bring the science of philosophy into contempt and ridicule.

Apart from this and several typographical errors which have escaped the proof-reader, the book has many defects. On page 123 we are informed that "the reader . . . must postpone his criticism of Spinoza's metaphysical theory (and, by the way, his metaphysical theories occupy the greater part of the book) until he has followed it in its applications, and studied it in the modified form which they give to it." If this is a warning that we are not to criticise the metaphysical theories, except in their modified applications, it betrays a singular lack of confidence in the theories themselves; and, indeed, in justice to Mr. Joachim, it must be admitted that he has some objections to urge against them.* If it be a principle of criticism, it is a thoroughly untrustworthy one. The only case where such a criterion is of use is where a subsequent empiric fact disproves a theory apparently true. On their own merits the positions are worthless—substance is not that which fulfils Spinoza's definition. The method of demonstration is fundamentally unsound—metaphysics and ethics refuse to yield results under a mathematical treatment. The consequences militate against the principles of right reason, faith, and morality.

The ethics, with all Mr. Joachim's explanation and interpretation, are a tangle of hopeless theories and fanciful inferences, with hardly, even here and there, a stray gleam from some

better and truer philosophy shining through the knots and ends of the threads.

There are some authors from the perusal of whose writings, even though they be inimical to one's strongest personal convictions, one turns with a feeling of satisfaction and pleasure ; but we must confess that we cannot understand how any philosopher who has the least trace of common sense—the smallest reverence for the human intellect—could lay aside Spinoza's Ethics without any other than sentiments of repulsion and disgust. And we are sorry to say that a grave aesthetic fault is added by Mr. Joachim to Spinoza's philosophical blunders.

F. A.

Doris. A Tale of Lourdes. By M. M. London : Art & Book Co. 8vo. Pp. 200.

A VERY realistic little story, in the good sense of the word, redolent with the freshness and sweetness of Lourdes itself, and in every way calculated to increase devotion to our Lady. The heavenly peace of the place, the simplicity and faith of the pilgrims, and the wonderful hymn, all make the reading of the book like a delightful dream which one wishes never to cease, until we can say with the noble little nurse Kathleen, "All's well," and we go to see our Lady of Lourdes in the splendour of Heaven. Zola's deformed ideas stand in hideous contrast to the picture, and wither into insignificance. The soulless Scotch minister goes away unreconciled to himself. Self-sacrificing Father Ralph will go on with his supernatural influence making converts wherever he goes. How hard he works ! How hard they all work at Lourdes ! Yet it is sweetness and light, and the fair Mother of God over it all. Health of the sick ! there is no cure which thou couldst not obtain. Why not that of Doris ?

B. M. L.

Que faut-il faire pour le Peuple ? Esquisse d'un Programme d'Etudes Sociales. Par l'Abbé MILLOT. Paris : Lecoffre. 1901. 1 vol. Pp. 518.

THIS volume is written by a French priest for French Catholics in general, and the younger clergy in particular. The author disclaims any title or competence to solve the social question outside France, but has a practical aim in view.

"This book," he says, "is a work of conciliation; it is addressed to practical men who wish to know what at once is to be done. . . . Let us, then, take the actual situation of the people in France, and seek the ways in which at the present moment we can be of service to them" (p. 67). After explaining the difference of the Socialist, the economic (he means liberal, unchristian economic), and the Christian solution of social questions; and after discussing the problems of necessities, labour, and wages, he treats at length (ch. ix. to ch. xxiii.) the obstacles to welfare, such as misdirected production, wrong distribution, monopolies, misgovernment, sickness, accidents, and, very particularly waste, alcoholism, bad education, immorality, and irreligion. Then he examines the four agents of social reform, individuals, associations, the State, and the Church, and gives a practical programme for France. A copious bibliography of economic works, written in or translated into French, forms an appendix; and throughout there are frequent references to authorities, and a studious effort, amid the controversies on social subjects that have divided French Catholics, to preserve impartiality.

But this work, though in many respects so excellent, cannot be recommended unreservedly; for in several places it loses the character of a work of conciliation, and becomes a work of partisanship; and though there is frequent reference to the teaching of Leo XIII., this teaching, in several places, is forgotten or misunderstood. Thus he rightly, indeed, notices the two tendencies among Catholics—one, to lay more stress on the need of charity and of individual action; the other, on the need of justice and State intervention; the difference being a sort of psychological necessity according to different characters. We may call the two tendencies, respectively, aristocratic and democratic, and observe that the excess and abuse of the one side leads to the pagan individualism, and the excess and abuse of the other to the socialistic heresies of early Christian times. Now our author, instead of keeping a fair balance, quotes various imprudent and misleading statements of writers on the democratic side, and no word of any imprudence on the other side; he treats the democrats condescendingly as unscientific, with better hearts than heads; names them "*catholiques ardents*," or "*réformateurs radicaux*," as opposed to "*catholiques prudents*," or "*réformateurs pratiques*"; and gravely thinks no one will feel hurt by such nomenclature (p. 65), as

though it were a compliment to be called by implication imprudent and unpractical.

Further, if there is one movement of present importance more than another on which Leo XIII. has laid stress, it is association, especially workmen's association. But our author pays little attention to the Papal advice, throws cold water on co-operation, and, indeed, is so hostile to association, so imbued with the individualistic doctrines of the old political economy, that he says, with a significant reference to the arch-Liberal, P. Leroy-Beaulieu : "The organisation of the workmen, like all organisation, leads inevitably to monopoly" (p. 379).

In like manner he is very averse to the intervention of the State ; not, indeed, to that of a theoretical perfect State, but to that of "L'Etat moderne," on which he says many severe things, again making himself the mouthpiece of Leroy-Beaulieu (p. 392). No doubt, if by "L'Etat moderne" he means the actual French Government, the fewer functions attributed to so corrupt and mischievous a body the better. But then he should have said so, and explained that "the modern State with its fundamental dogma of the sovereignty of the people-god" (p. 402), is a conception that does not apply, for example, to the State in the British Empire, the United States, Germany, Austria, and Belgium, where a moral law and the existence of a God above the people are recognised. So far from doing this, he actually evades the State intervention which, within certain limits is so clearly set forth in the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, by the ingenious device of making the Pope mean by "State" only an ideal Christian State hardly ever realised ; even modern Belgium not coming up to the mark (pp. 394, 434). This is practically to reduce the Papal teaching to nothing at all, or next to nothing.

Again, he gets wrong in his view of universal suffrage being not merely the means by which, in a given case, bad people secure their preponderance, but as the cause of this preponderance. He has, indeed, a perfect right, as a private person, to hold this opinion, and the connected one, that envy is the evil of democracies. But he is wrong in trying to force these opinions down the throats of his fellow Catholics ; considering how the Holy Father has again and again urged that the Church is equally friendly to all forms of government ; that any form can be good and any form bad ; and that the practical

duty of Catholics, as such, is to make their own government good, whatever its form.

There yet remains in this painful task of fault-finding one other point that must not be passed over. In his treatment of Church legislation and teaching on usury the Abbé Millot has been misled by M. Joseph Rambeau, whose writings he highly praises in the bibliography. But M. Joseph Rambeau himself has been misled by the liberal unhistorical economists, according to whom the Church failed to understand the productive nature of capital, forbade all interest as being usury, with the result that the casuists had to contrive all sorts of devices to escape so intolerable a restriction, till at last the Church herself had, as quietly as she could, to drop her prohibitions. That such a distortion of history could linger on into the twentieth century, and find its way into books written by Catholics for Catholics, shows how great is the vitality of myths, how tyrannous the yoke of false scientific theories, how difficult the acquisition of the true historical spirit.

While such thoughts remain in the pages of *Que faut-il faire pour le Peuple?* the book cannot serve English readers as a fair sample of French Catholic opinion; still less can it be recommended to the younger clergy of France, who had much better take as their text-book the excellent *Cours d'Economie Sociale*, by Father C. Antoine, and also study the sober and safe work, to which attention has already been called in this REVIEW (July, 1897, p. 197), by the Belgian Redemptorist Father Godts, entitled *Scopuli Vitandi in pertractanda quaestione de conditione opificum*.

The drawbacks to the Abbé Millot's work are all the more to be regretted because there is so much excellent matter contained in its pages: for example, the information about the actual condition of France; though, let us hope, the moral conditions are painted in colours rather too dark; or, again, the practical programme of chapter xxix., which, even if it does not go far enough, yet as far as it goes deserves our entire assent. Particularly commendable is the emphasis he lays on the spread and preservation of small properties among the working classes, and how "l'ouvrier propriétaire" is a most powerful preservative against socialism. And whereas the greatest oppression that workmen endure is at the hands not of the employer but of the foreman, he notes how socialism abolishes the employer but retains the foreman. Excellent, again, is his recognition

of the need of fostering the maximum production within each nation and within each family; and of how Catholicism is a force at hand for social renovation—a force divine, and therefore inexhaustible; “It scatters the world’s predictions to the winds, and, like its Master, rises triumphant when it is thought to be laid securely in the tomb. God has only to send forth men—a St. Benedict, a St. Francis, a St. Vincent of Paul—and the face of Christian societies will be renewed, and the whole world along with them. No one knows God’s hour; but there is nothing to prove that it may not be to-morrow” (p. 405).

C. S. DEVAS.

A Course of Religious Instruction for Catholic Youth.

By Rev. J. GERARD, S.J. 8vo. Pp. viii., 214. Burns & Oates. 1901. Price 2s. 6d.

WE gladly commend this useful and up-to-date little book, of some two hundred pages, to the general reader. It is a simple, unpretentious and straightforward exposition of the Catholic position, and should prove of service to anyone who is desirous of following St. Peter’s advice—viz., to be ready always to satisfy everyone that asketh a reason of the hope which is in him.

It is divided into three parts. In the first our reverend author deals with “Natural Truth,” in the second with “Revealed Truth,” and in the third with “The Means of Grace.”

Most of the common difficulties and objections that the tumultuous waves of modern learning have thrown up from the sea of error are touched upon; and though an exhaustive answer to all is scarcely to be expected in so small a compass, enough is said to dissipate doubt and to set the mind at rest.

The following extract may serve as a fair specimen of the writer’s style and method. He is speaking of the Creation of the Universe, and concludes thus:

“As to the Catholic doctrine on this subject, it will be sufficient to note the points which we are bound to hold: (1) The Universe has its existence from God, not from itself. [By the term ‘Universe,’ is understood all that exists besides God; Heaven and Earth, and all things in them.] (2) God made man, and created his soul separate and distinct from the rest of creatures, to His own image and likeness. (3) He appointed the Sabbath, or seventh day, to be kept holy. Upon other points we are left to follow the teachings of reason and science,

e.g., as the length of the 'Days' of Creation. Also as to the method of Creation ; *i.e.*, whether different species of plants and animals were created separate and distinct, in their present form ; or whether they have been evolved or developed, through the action of natural force, from a single, or at most a few, original forms. However limited in number we may suppose them to have been, the problem of Creation still confronts us in its entirety" (p. 125).

Speaking of the Holy Eucharist, and replying to a common difficulty often urged by Protestants, Father Gerard, S.J., observes :

"It is also objected that St. Paul (i. Cor. xi. 27) assumes Communion under both kinds, when he says, 'Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.'

"We answer that this is a mistranslation introduced in the Anglican version of Scripture to support the Protestant argument. What St. Paul does say is not *and*, but *or* (in the Greek original *ή*), thus turning the argument just the other way" (p. 203).

Here our learned author is perhaps not quite just. It is only fair to our Anglican friends to point out that while it is perfectly true that the *Authorised* version of the Bible contains the mistranslation he so justly complained of, it is equally true that it has been set right in the *Revised* version. The new translation of the New Testament made in 1881 has "*or*," and not "*and*."

The volume is neatly got up, and the divisions are rendered more than usually clear by an abundant use of Clarendon type.

J. S. V.

Books Received.

- Letters of Rosmini.** Edited by Rev. D. Gazzola. London : R. & T. Washbourne. 8vo, pp. 846.
- The Confessor.** By Canon A. Guerra, translated by Rev. C. Van der Donckt. Freiburg : B. Herder. 8vo, pp. 165.
- The Bible and Rationalism.** By Rev. John Thein. St. Louis, Mo. : B. Herder. 4 vols., 8vo, pp. 167, 200, 162, 258.
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